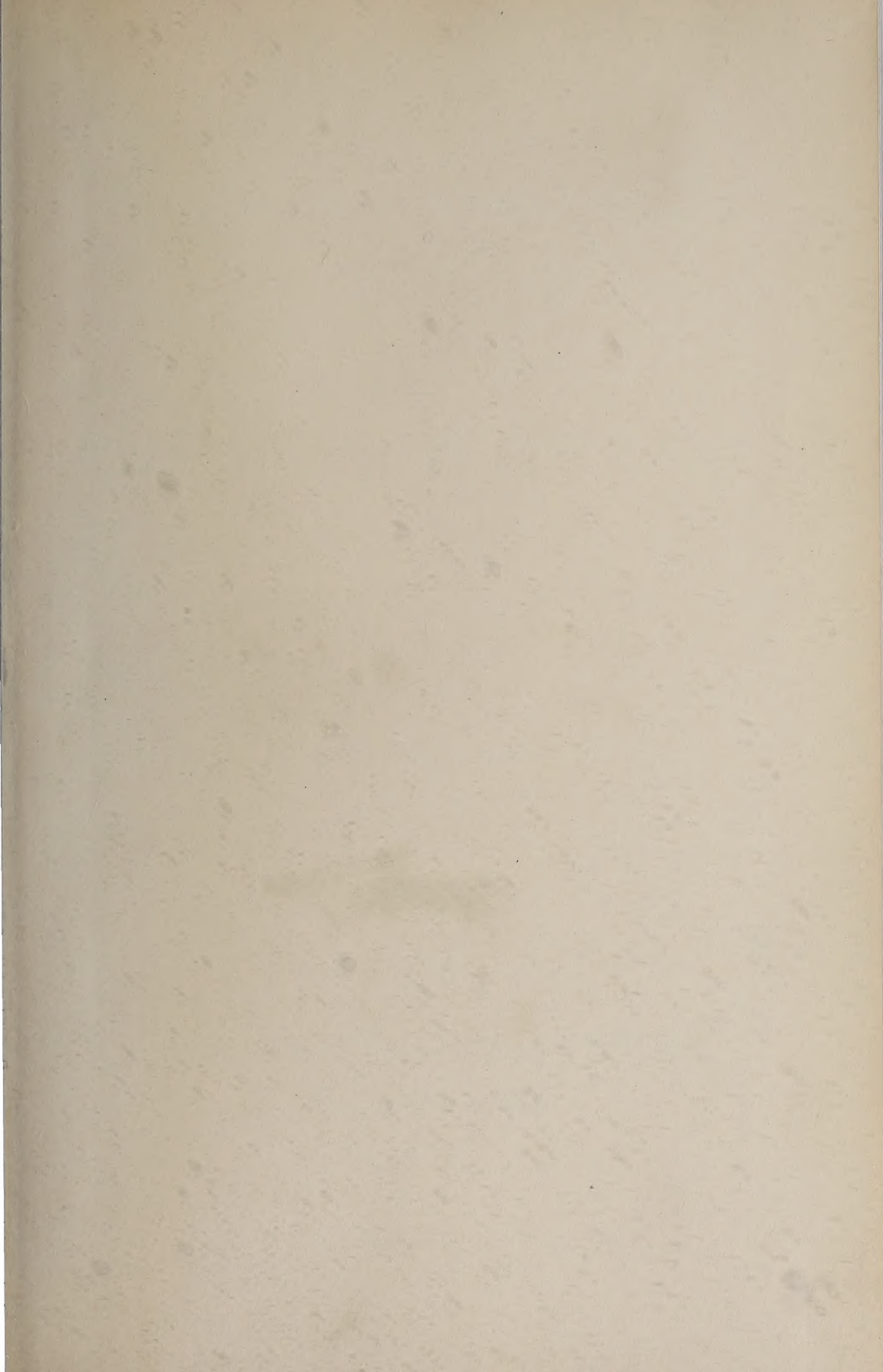


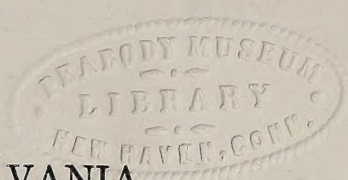
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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA



THE MUSEUM JOURNAL

VOLUME XIII

THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
PHILADELPHIA
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THE BRITISH MUSEUM POLICY

The following abstract of an address by Sir Frederic Kenyon, Director of the British Museum, delivered before the Society of Hellenic Studies on May 10, 1921 and printed in the JOURNAL of that Society, Volume XLI, Part 2, is of special interest to all the readers of this JOURNAL. It is produced here by permission of the Society of Hellenic Studies.

It is clear that the Western nations have a very legitimate interest in the antiquities of the Near and Middle East, both as elements in the advance of knowledge in general, and particularly as monuments of the civilization on which their own is based. It is plain, also, that their interest in connexion with the administration of antiquities in the lands of which we are speaking lies, first, in the preservation and scientific investigation of these antiquities, so that no portion of their evidence or their significance may be lost; and next in having them placed where they can best be studied, and where they are accessible to the largest number of persons who can profit by the sight and examination of them. The vote of this interest would be in favour of the removal of antiquities from the country of origin just in proportion to the inaccessibility of that country from the centres of modern civilisation, and the absence of inhabitants capable of studying them and making their value known to the civilised world.

We have therefore three forces to take into account in framing a just Law of Antiquities in lands of archaeological importance: first, the material interests of the country of origin; secondly, the moral (or intellectual) interests of the country of origin; and, thirdly, the moral (or intellectual) interests of countries other than the country of origin, which may be more compendiously described as the advancement of knowledge. A settlement which ignores any of these claims will be defective, and it is the business of archaeologists and official administrators to endeavour to find a solution which will satisfy all of them to the fullest extent possible.

I do not think that a satisfactory solution is hard to find, if only intelligence and toleration could be presupposed among administrators and scholars. I believe it is possible to satisfy both the interests of the country of origin and the interests of other countries in the advancement of knowledge. But it seems necessary to repeat what to many, if not all, here are almost truisms, because we know by bitter experience that they are by no means always realised by those in whose hands important decisions lie.

In the first place, there are certain solutions which should be ruled out at once as incompatible with the principles which have been laid down. A law which prohibits all export of antiquities is only defensible—if at all—in countries which are able to make the fullest provision for their preservation, for their accessibility, and for their study. The best example, perhaps, is Greece. Greece is well aware of the moral, as well as the material, value of its antiquities; it makes good provision for their exploration and for their preservation; it permits excavation (though not exportation) by foreign scholars; and it is reasonably accessible to the nations most vitally interested in the study of these antiquities. Nevertheless I do not think it can be denied that the world would have been the sufferer if such a law of exclusion had always existed and been enforced. Greece has been and is the schoolmaster of the world because the products of its great age went abroad to Italy in the past and to Europe and America now; and although Greece may at times lament over its vanished treasures, the name of Greece stands higher, and even its political position is stronger, because the influence of its artistic genius has been spread throughout the civilised world.

A policy of exclusiveness is bad for the world, and bad for the country which practises it. How much does not Italy owe, in reputation and in the affection of other peoples, to the fact that its pictures have been spread broadcast in Europe and America? On the other hand, the artistic reputation of England has suffered because our artists are so poorly represented in the galleries of France and Italy. Except in rare isolated instances, I do not grudge the migration of English pictures to America; not merely because America has a right to a share in England's past, but because I believe that the increased appreciation of English art and literature adds strength to the bonds which unite England and America. What is needed is not exclusiveness, but an equitable balance between the claims of the mother country and of other lands.

And if exclusiveness is a doubtful policy in the case of countries like Greece and Italy, which possess trained scholars of unquestioned competence and educated publics which fully appreciate their artistic treasures, it is wholly bad in the case of less advanced countries. I enumerated just now three interests which have to be taken into account—the material interest of the country of origin, the moral and intellectual interest of the country of origin, and the advancement of learning. In the case of such countries as Egypt,

Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, two of these interests suffer by a policy of exclusion, and the third does not benefit. The material interest of the country of origin suffers; and consequently one invariably finds the natives, in whose interest the law of exclusion is supposed to be enforced, using all their ingenuity to evade it, and joining hands with the smuggler and the foreign agent against their own government. The interest of the advancement of learning suffers, because scientific exploration is discouraged, while smuggling, which obscures the history and significance of the objects found, is encouraged. Finally, for the moral and intellectual interest of the country of origin exclusiveness is not necessary, because there are in all these countries a supply of antiquities amply sufficient to meet the needs of the country and at the same time to supply a good representation of its art to lands outside.

The Palestine ordinance is of special importance, because it is the first to be drawn up for the territories recently liberated from Turkish rule, and is likely to serve as a model for the others. It is therefore satisfactory that it has been based upon, and in most respects conforms with, the recommendations of the Archaeological Joint Committee. The Committee, after consultation with the Director of Antiquities at Jerusalem, has suggested certain modifications in details, and there is reason to hope that they will be accepted. We trust that similar regulations will be enacted by our French friends in Syria. With regard to Asia Minor, it is impossible to speak with precision in the present indeterminate position of affairs. It may, however, be presumed that part of it will remain under Turkish administration, and possibly part under that of the Greeks. We are, I think, entitled to hope that the area which may be placed under Greek administration will be treated on the same principles as the areas which come by mandate under British or French control. The doctrine of exclusive ownership, which Greece is entitled to apply to the territory which belongs to it in full ownership, can hardly be claimed as applicable to territories of which it is, in effect if not in name, the mandatory.

In matters of archaeology, international jealousies should be ruled out. The civilisations of the ancient world are the common heritage of the modern nations. The fact that a European nation is administering a portion of Asia or Africa does not give it the right to exclude members of other nations from all share in the work of exploration or in the products of such exploration; and if any nation

were to claim such exclusive rights in the territories under its control, that should be a sufficient reason for refusing to allow it the privilege of working in the areas controlled by other nations. In Asia Minor, in Syria, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, in Persia, in Egypt, there should be a fair field and no favour, and similar Laws of Antiquities should regulate exploration and excavation in each of them. So far as I have had communications with the representatives of the other nations concerned, I believe that this principle would be accepted by them; but it is important that it should be laid down clearly at the outset, and put into force without reserves or qualifications. We in this country, who have control in areas so important as Palestine and Mesopotamia, have the opportunity of setting a good example, and I trust and believe we shall make use of it. The only ground on which the exclusion of the representatives of any country could be justified would be if archaeological exploration were made a cloak for political designs; and this is only a particular case of the general principle that archaeology must not be made the cat's-paw of politics. It has been so sometimes in the past. Let us do what we can to guard against it in the future.

I have taken the opportunity given to me today to deal with principles of international archaeology which concern all civilised nations. I would conclude with a corollary which concerns ourselves alone. Our duty is not ended when we have thrown open the gates for international activities in the areas committed to our charge. It is likewise our duty to be foremost in undertaking such activities ourselves. It would be a shame to us if we permit other nations to do all the work in countries such as Palestine and Egypt and Mesopotamia, or if we failed to do our share in the further exploration of Greek lands. The times are difficult for all work which needs money, and our Government does not take the same view as other European Governments of the value to a nation of such contributions to knowledge and civilisation. All the more is it the duty of societies such as our own, on which falls the representation of our country in these spheres of activity, to take up the burden courageously, and to lose no opportunity of bringing home to others the greatness of the need, and the high privilege of assisting to enlarge the heritage of the past, and to increase the intellectual wealth of the human race.

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BRONZE EWER INLAID WITH SILVER. MADE AT MOSUL, 13TH CENTURY.
IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM.

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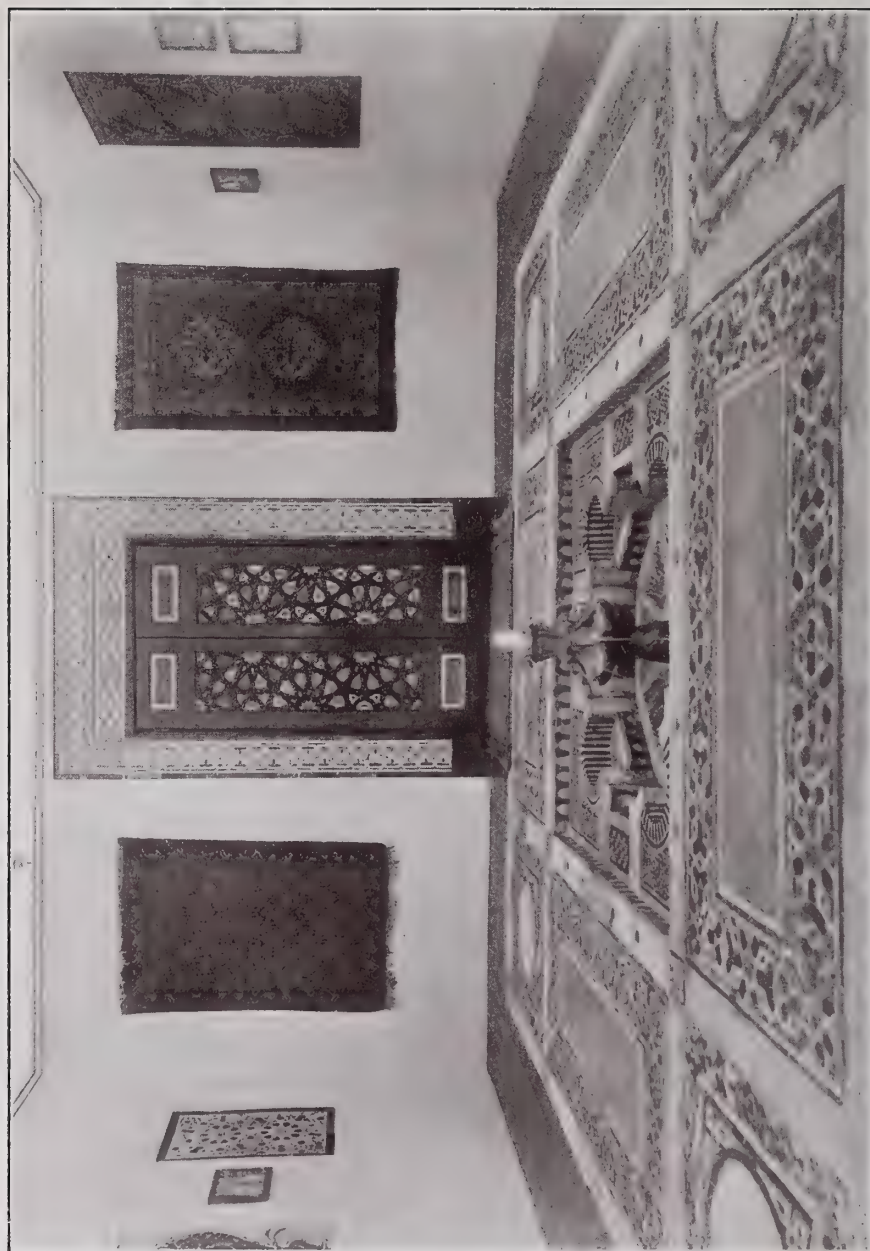
ARABIC ART

This is not a treatise on Arabic Art but a notice directing attention to some examples in the University Museum that I obtained at Cairo and Damascus in 1919.

THE terms Mohammedan Art, Arabic Art and Saracenic Art are used by different writers to describe the work of artists who flourished in the Middle East between the 9th century and the 16th century and who were still active in the early part of the 17th century.

The term Mohammedan Art is amply justified on the ground that its manifestation grew and expanded under Mohammedan influence and by the encouragement of Mohammedan rulers. The religion of Mohammed was given to the world by the Arabs and the initial energy that made this movement a force in the world was imparted by the Arabs who during their conquests carried new ideas and set new forces to work. It is clear that the revival of art under new forms was a part of that movement and the term Arabic Art is therefore justified on that ground. The term Saracenic Art is preferred by some writers because the name Saracen was adopted by Western Europe to describe all the militant peoples of the East professing the Mohammedan faith as opposed to Christians, but the word itself is of obscure origin.

I choose for my present purpose the term Arabic Art because I wish to bring into view the fact that this vigorous growth associating itself with the stirring episodes of an adventurous military movement owes its initial impulse and directing energy to the Arabs. Arabic Art is a highly distinctive performance taking to itself a pronounced style that can be recognized all the way from Cordova to Delhi. It was an unheralded and spontaneous eruption of artistic activities thrown out from the Arabian desert by forces which were not directly associated with the artistic impulse but rather with a restless imagination stimulated by religious fervor. The result was one of the most surprising and unaccountable

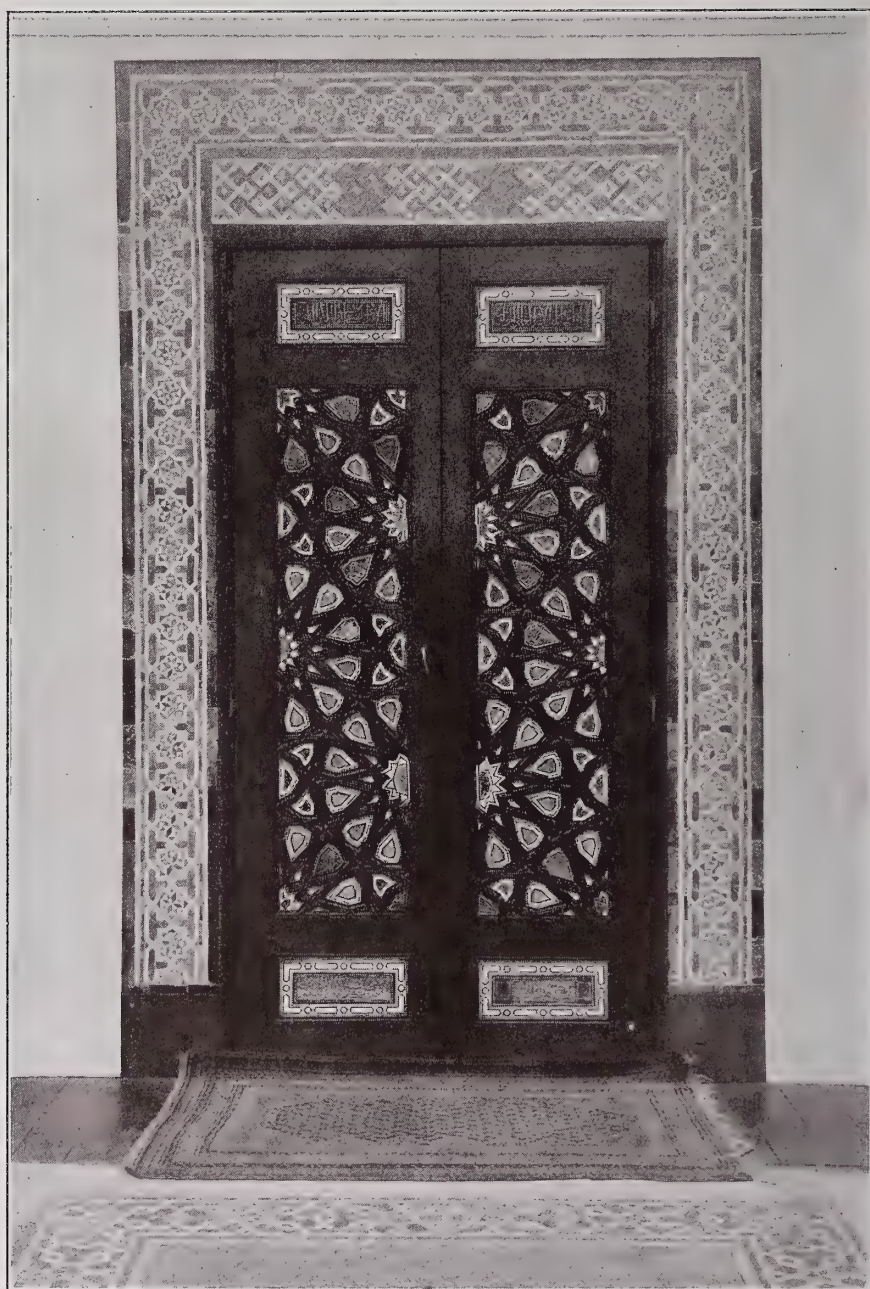


Mosaic Fountain with Doorway, now in the University Museum. Cairo, 15th Century.
FIG. 1.

episodes in the history of culture. In its origin it proceeded from the most unlikely sources and yet from its beginning it was a very promising performance and in the course of four centuries became one of the most brilliant achievements in the whole realm of art. It is quite irrelevant to say that the art we call Arabic was everywhere engrafted on local cultures and represents in one case a revival of Sassanian Art, in another of Assyrian Art, in another of Coptic Art, in another of Mediterranean Art, or that in this or that aspect it proceeded from Iranian sources, or that it borrowed from Byzantium. To generalize on these relationships is only to state a condition that is common to all movements in the history of culture which everywhere springs from seeds already ripe and fallen to the earth. The Arabs when they left their native deserts in Arabia were not without culture and refinement but these qualities had never found expression in creative art. They had no architecture, sculpture or painting. Their lives were primitive, barbaric and lacking in adornment; yet in their sudden military migrations wherever they touched soil rich and ancient associations connected with the Arts, the latent genius of the race blossomed and expanded with great vigour and in new forms.

Mohammed had forbidden the making of pictures and therefore so long as his followers remained orthodox the new artistic impulse had to find some other medium. This gave at once a pronounced stamp of uniformity to the products of widely separated sections and diversified surroundings. Egypt, Syria, Mosul, Bagdad, Persia, the chief centres of artistic and political activity, may have handed down local artistic traditions by which their local products may be distinguished apart but the striking fact is the uniformity of treatment that makes them one. Spain, Venice and Delhi were also centres for the cultivation of Arabic Art and even in these remoter districts its distinctive character asserts itself strongly.

The rule prohibiting the use of pictures though not strictly observed in all times and places was never ignored by Mohammedan artists and their powerful patrons, the Kalifs and Emirs of the Mohammedan world. Animals did find their way into design but so far as I am aware these representations are never so close in their imitation of nature that they could offend as likenesses. They represent a compromise between the artist and his religion and they fluctuate between fixed conventions and mobile abstractions.



Doorway, shown in Fig. 1. Cairo, 15th Century.

FIG. 2.

Thus the prohibitions of religion were partly circumvented for the benefit of art without incurring damnation, but there was another way of achieving even more desirable results with no risk at all. The Prophet had forbidden the making of images but not their use. It was quite safe therefore to employ Christians in the invention and elaboration of designs involving pictures of men, beasts, trees and flowers. The maker could take the punishment, the faithful Mohammedan might enjoy the products of the other's skill with pleasure and profit in this world and without penalty in the next. When therefore we encounter the use of animal or plant in Arabic Art, we have an object not necessarily made by Moham-

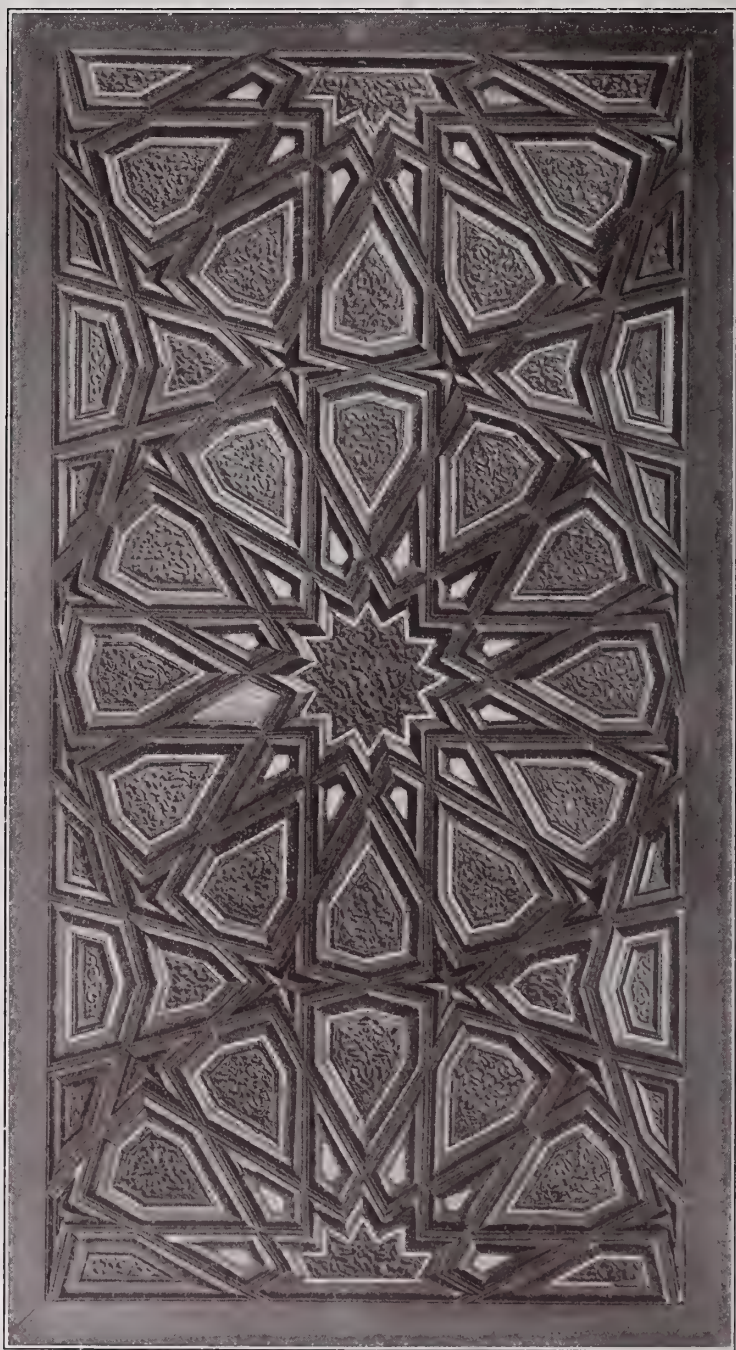


Carved Ivory Tablet with Inscription in Wooden Door, shown in Fig. 2. Cairo, 15th Century.

FIG. 3.

medan craftsmen but probably by Christians employed by Emirs of the Faith who used their wealth and influence to encourage the exquisite craftsmanship that appealed to their taste and satisfied their passion for refined and sumptuous splendour in their dwellings and in their attire.

The wearing of fine silks being forbidden to the faithful by the Prophet as a luxurious weakness, the difficulty was surmounted by running a single thread of cotton in the border of the web as it was woven, often by Christian weavers, while the luxurious silken fabric was richly adorned with figures of animals and flowers. The wearing of rich raiment was general among the wealthy and in no age or place besides have such delicate and refined fabrics been wrought for the raiment of the wealthy and powerful. The dwellings presented in their interiors the same rich and colorful effects but the



Wooden Door with Carved Ivory Inlay, now in the University Museum. Cairo, 14th Century.

FIG. 4.

refined craftsmanship was lavished on walls, ceilings and floors rather than on movable furniture for of this there was indeed very little. Cushions, carpets, a tabouret, a vase or two in recesses of the wall, a basin, a ewer and a censer were nearly all the furniture that Arab domestic life required or custom permitted. It is to the walls, ceilings and floors therefore that we must look chiefly for household decoration but as the houses of the earlier and better periods have nearly all vanished we have few complete examples of domestic decoration. Indeed early examples of Arabic Art at its best are rare and the examples which usually illustrate the design and workmanship of the artist and craftsman of the best period are in bronze, tiles, mosaics, woodwork, pottery, glass, textiles, and illuminated manuscripts.

Cairo was always one of the most active centres of Mohammedan culture and it is there that Arabic Art can best be traced today. In the 8th and 9th centuries Cairo saw the rise of the new culture under the Arab Governors appointed by the Kalifs of Bagdad. The 10th, 11th and most of the 12th century saw this art confirmed in the favour of the Fatimy Kalifs of Egypt whose generous patronage enabled the artists and craftsmen to work under the most favourable conditions. Under the rule of the succeeding Ayyub Dynasty founded by Saladin, the same liberal encouragement was carried on till the middle of the thirteenth century. Then came the strangest and most paradoxical period ushered in by the Mamluks. These Tartar slaves attached to the court of the Egyptian Sultans, maintained as a bodyguard in the trusted service of their masters, found themselves possessed of so much wealth of the Sultans' gift and so much power at court that the Sultan himself became subject to their whims. At an opportune moment the inevitable happened, for the Mamluks, removing their masters in a spirit of turbulent arrogance, raised one of their own Emirs to the throne. For more than two and a half centuries these ruffian princes ruled by means of violence and intrigue, making and unmaking Sultans of their own blood as the impulse seized them. Yet it was these descendants of barbarian slaves from beyond the Oxus, a people without any artistic traditions of their own—it was from this unlikely source that Arabic Art received its greatest impulse. To these lawless usurpers Arabic Art owes its greatest perfection. Stanley Lane-Poole sums up the situation as follows. "The Mamluks offer the most singular contrasts of



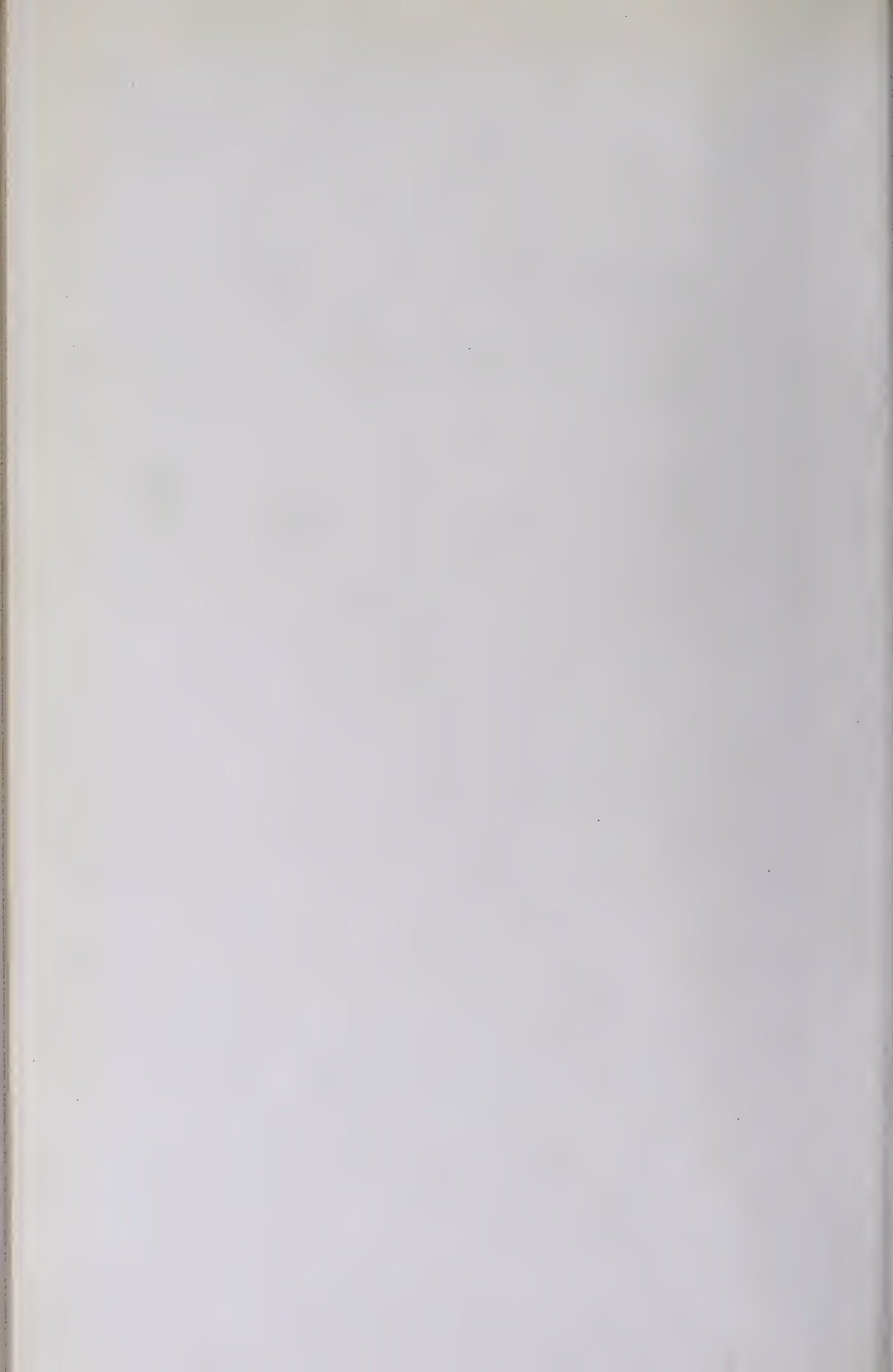
Detail of Wooden Door, shown in Fig. 4, with Carved Ivory Inlay. Cairo, 14th Century.
FIG. 5.



DETAIL FROM THE CORNER OF A FOUNTAIN. MOSAIC. 15TH CENTURY. CAIRO.
THE ENTIRE FOUNTAIN IS INSTALLED IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM.

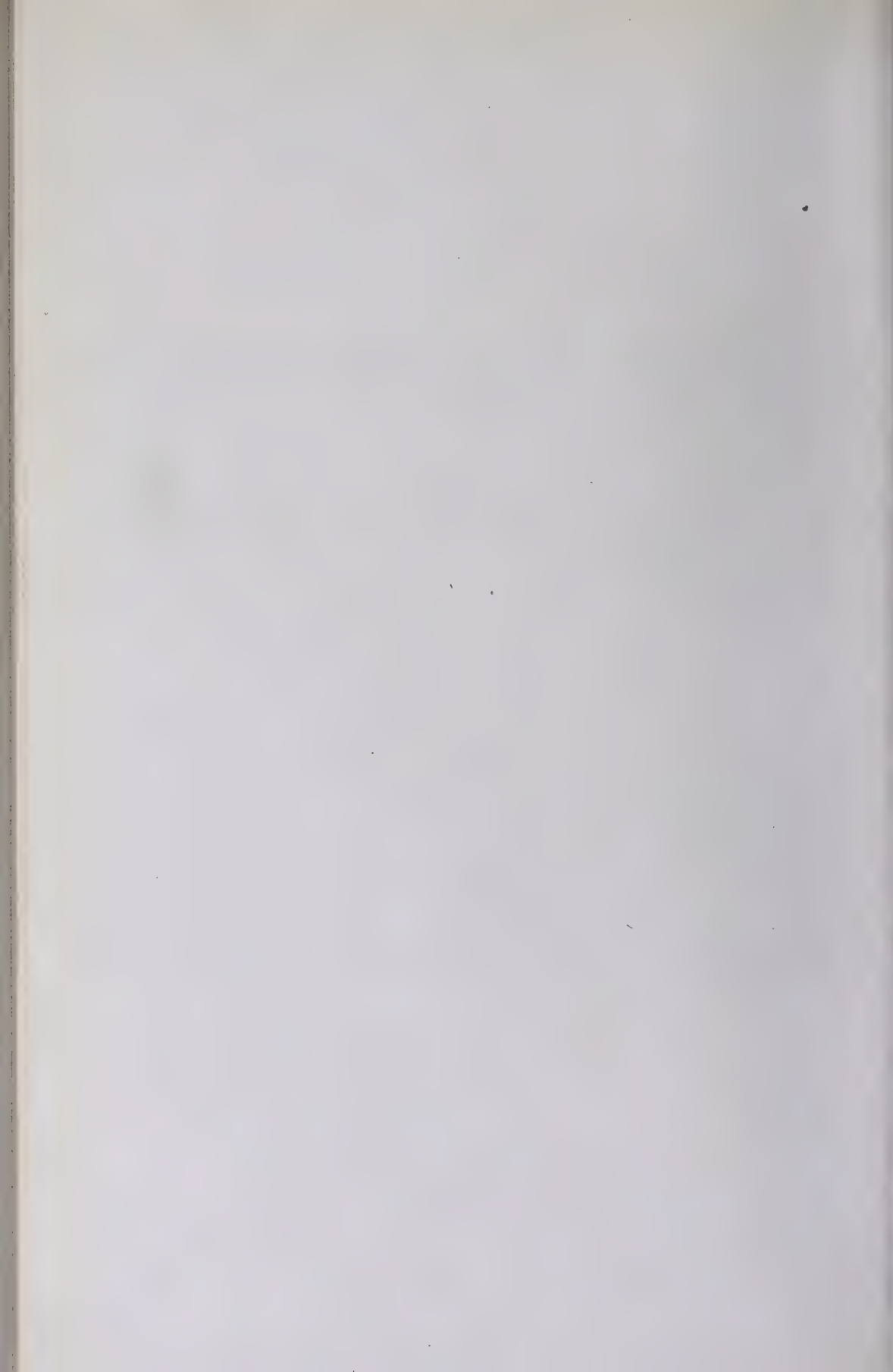


DETAIL FROM THE CORNER OF A FOUNTAIN. MOSAIC. 15TH CENTURY. CAIRO.
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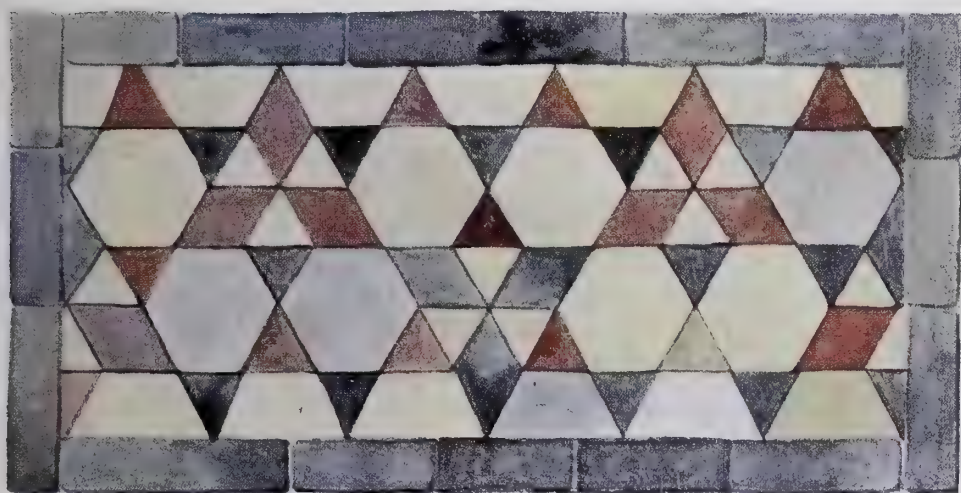


SMALL MOSAIC FOUNTAIN FROM A HOUSE IN CAIRO NOW IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM.
15TH CENTURY.



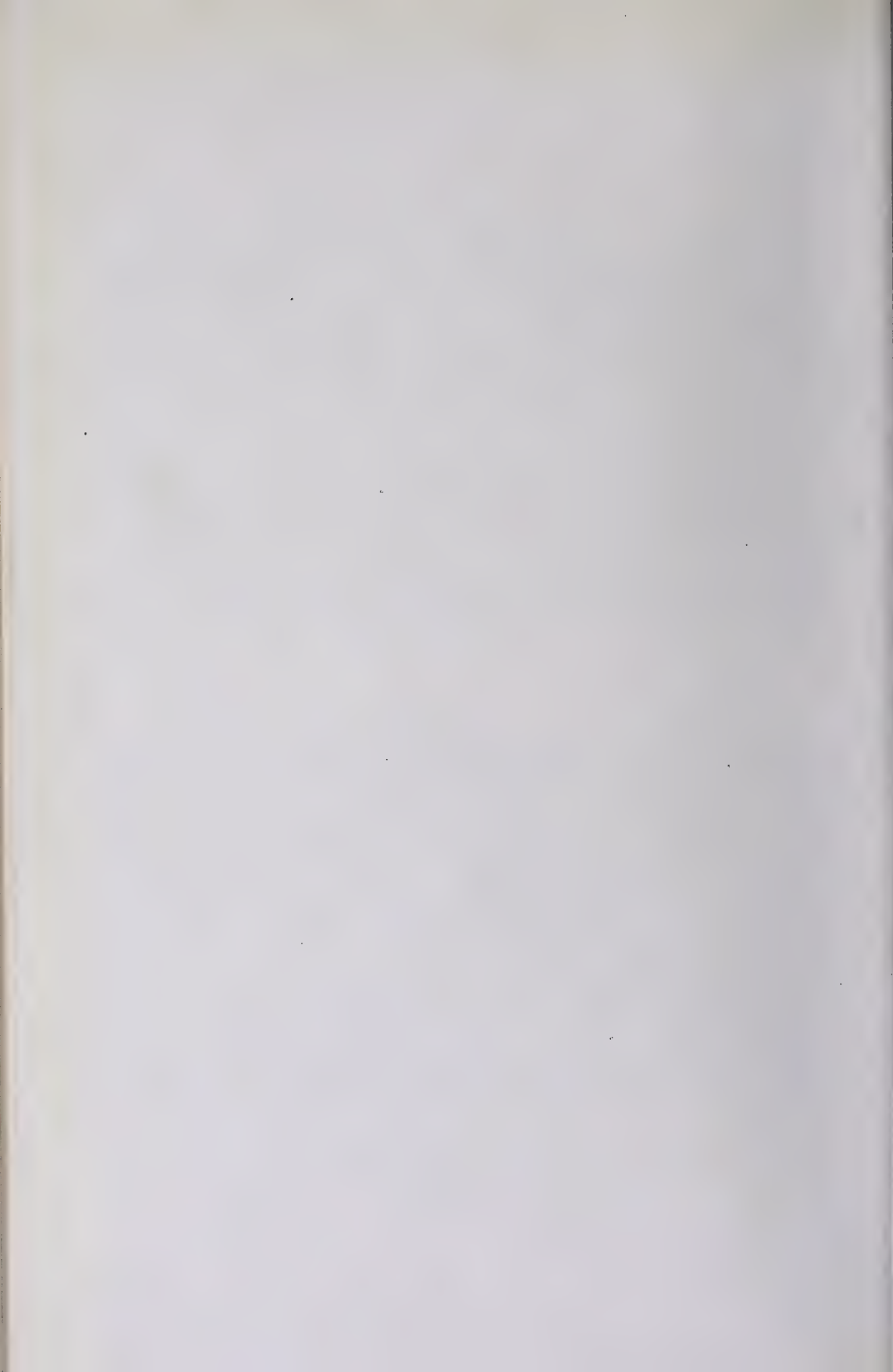


AN. 13



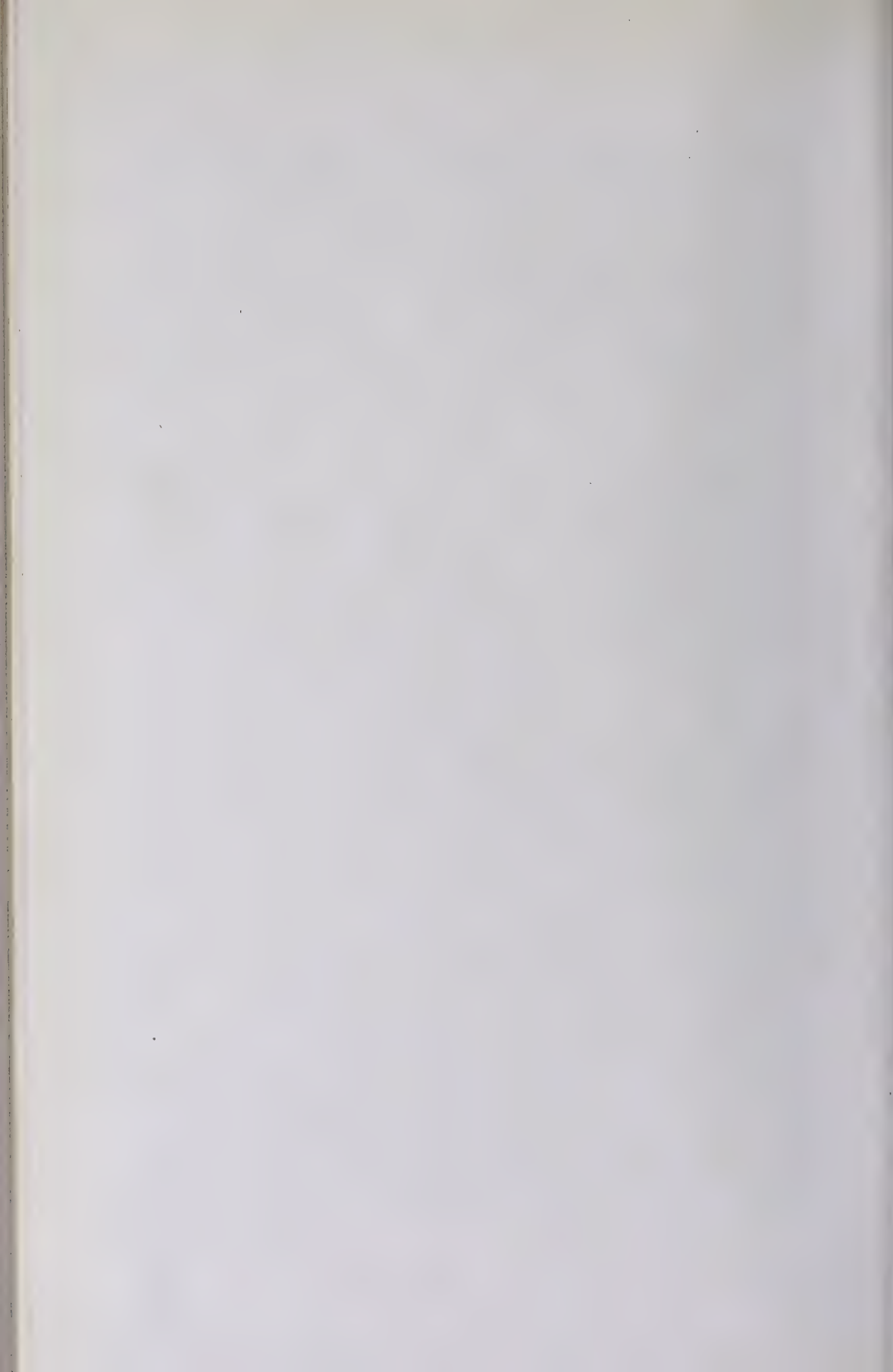
AN. 13

DETAILS OF MOSAIC FOUNTAIN FROM A CAIRO HOUSE. 15TH CENTURY.
THE FOUNTAIN IS INSTALLED IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM.





MOSAIC WALL PANEL FROM A CAIRO HOUSE. 15TH CENTURY.
NOW IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM.



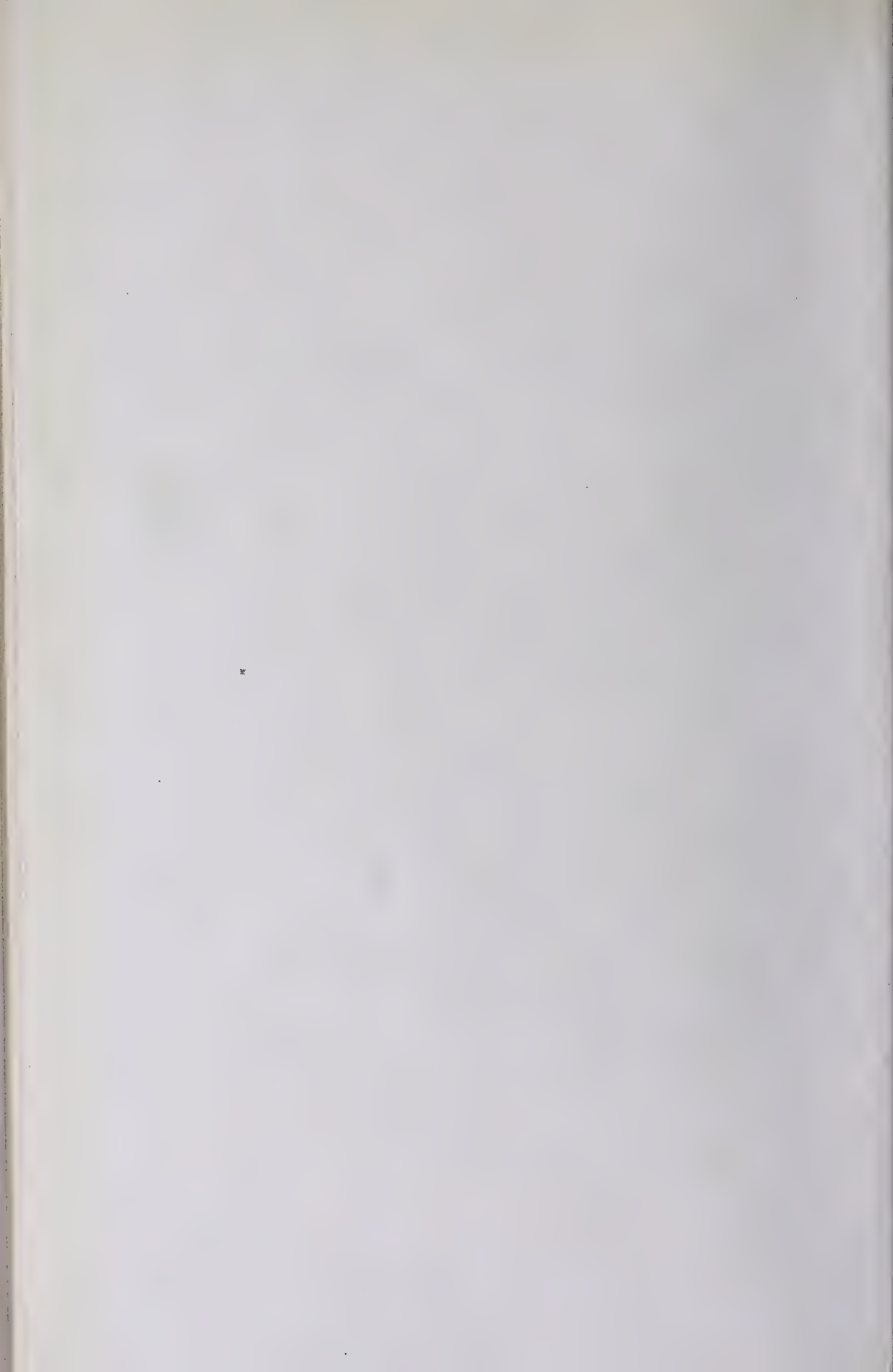


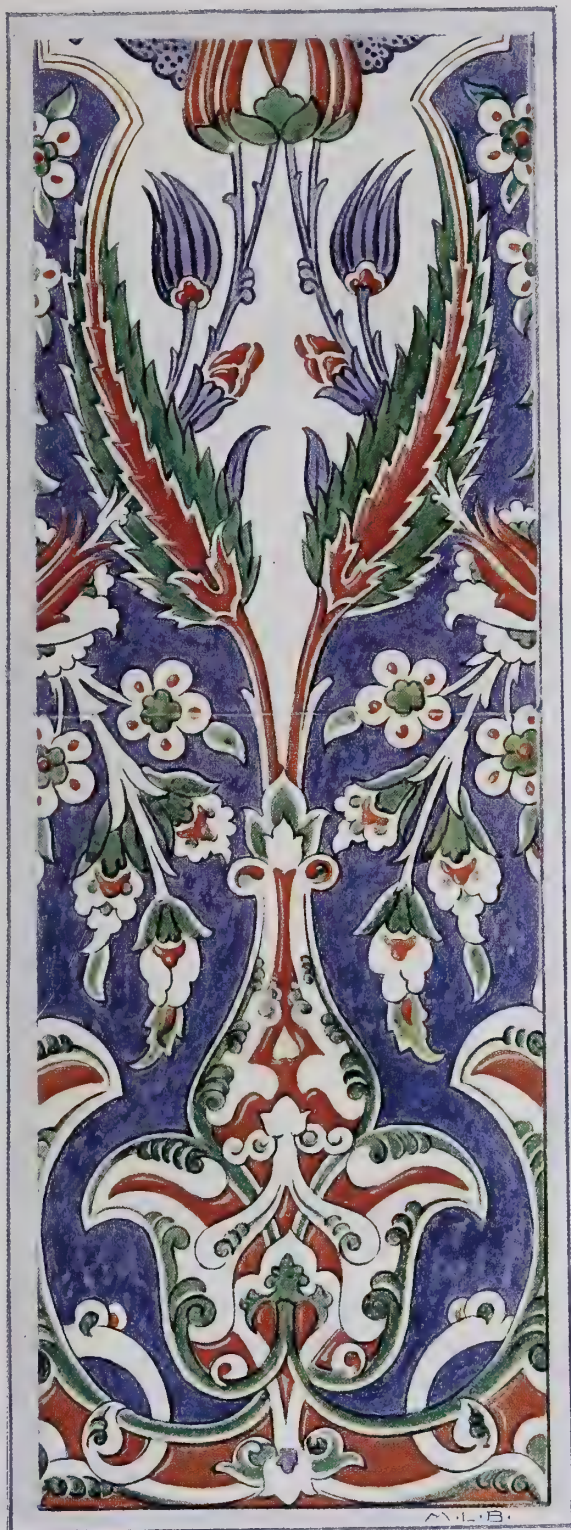
DAMASCUS TILE. 16TH CENTURY. IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM COLLECTION.



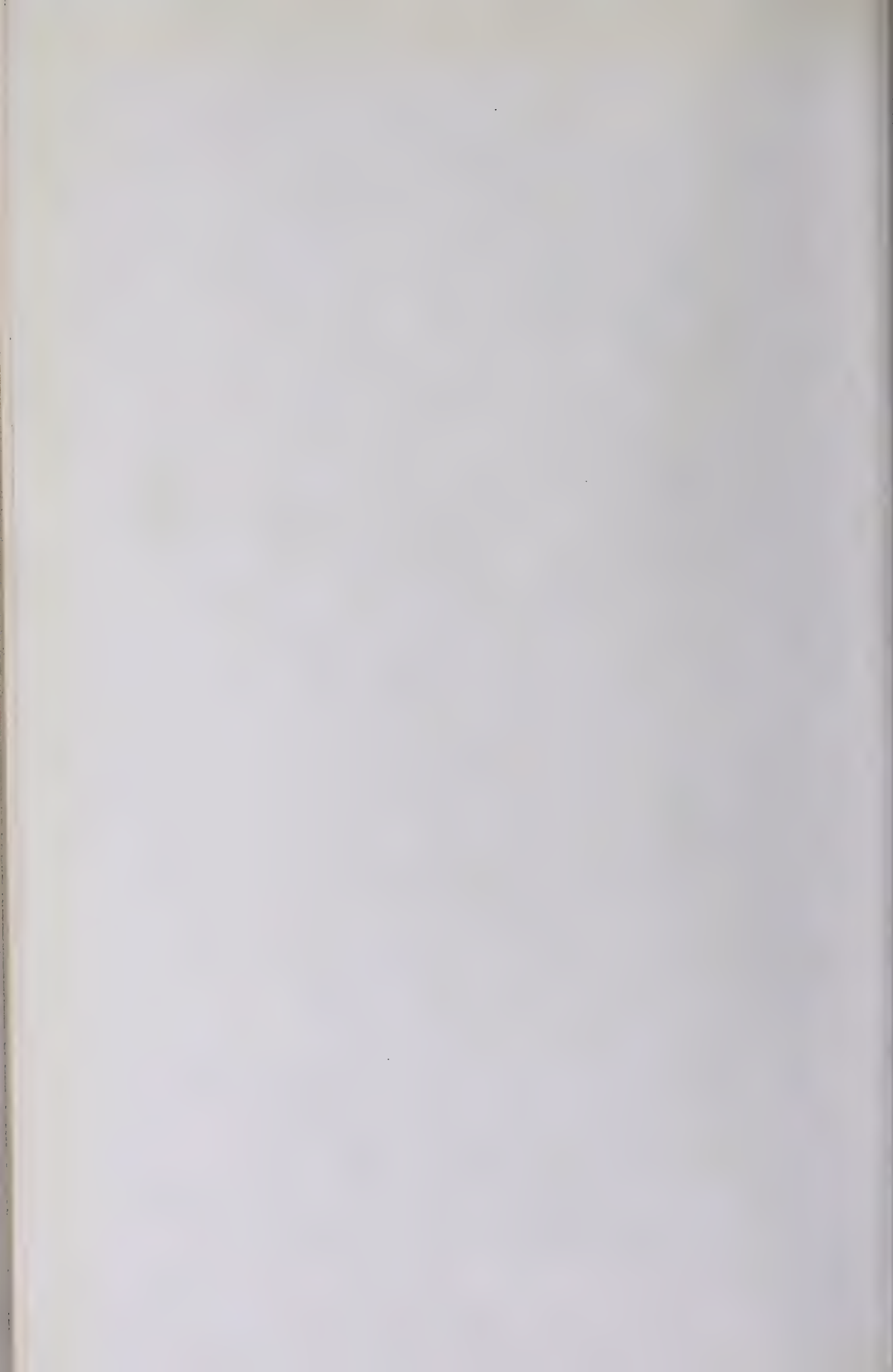


WALL PANEL OF TILES. CAIRO. 17TH CENTURY.
IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM COLLECTION.



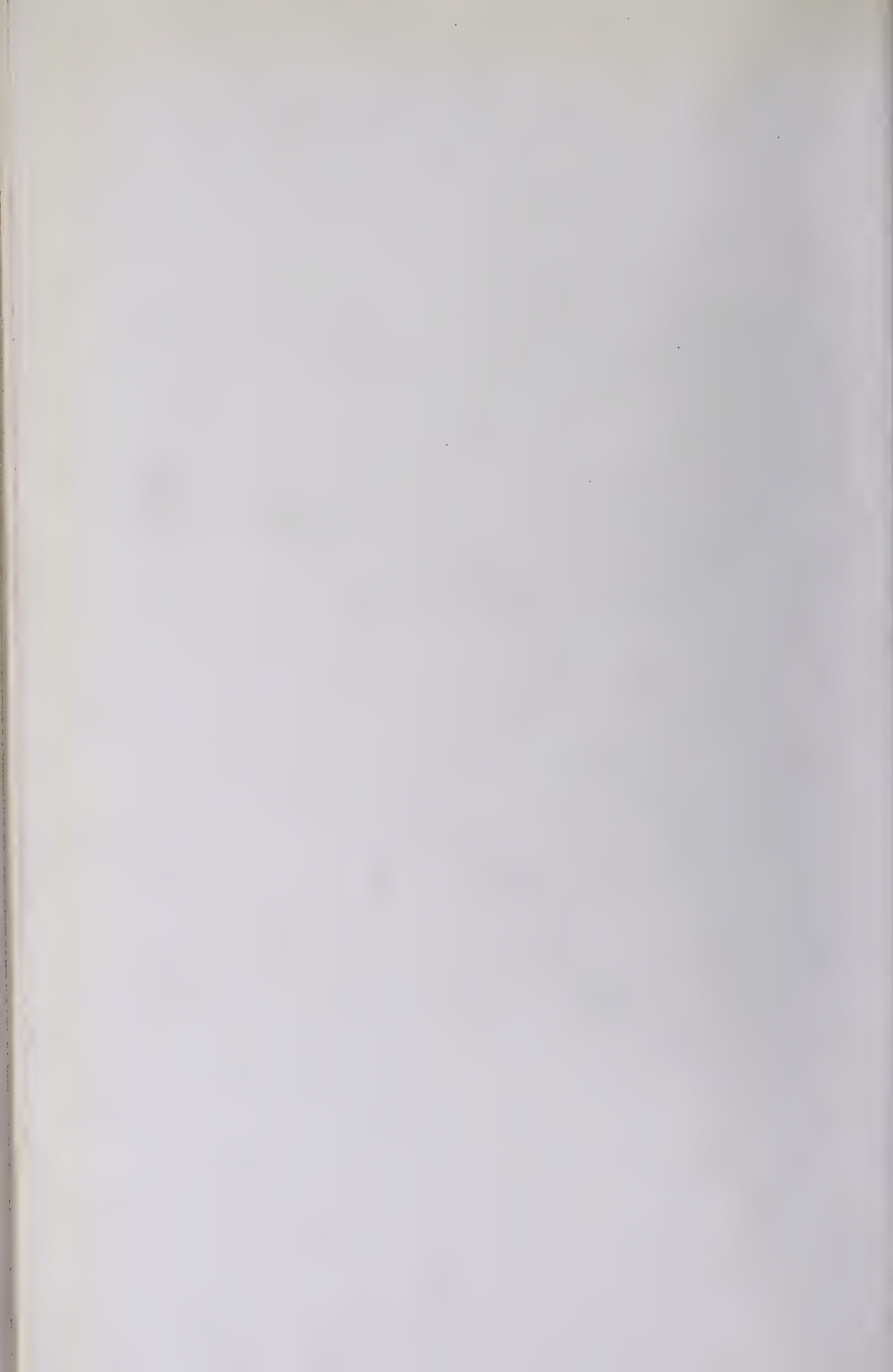


PORTION OF WALL PANEL OF SOCALLED RHODIAN TILES. ASIA MINOR. 16TH CENTURY.
IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM COLLECTION.





PORTION OF WALL PANEL OF SOCALLED RHODIAN TILES. ASIA MINOR. 16TH CENTURY.
IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM COLLECTION



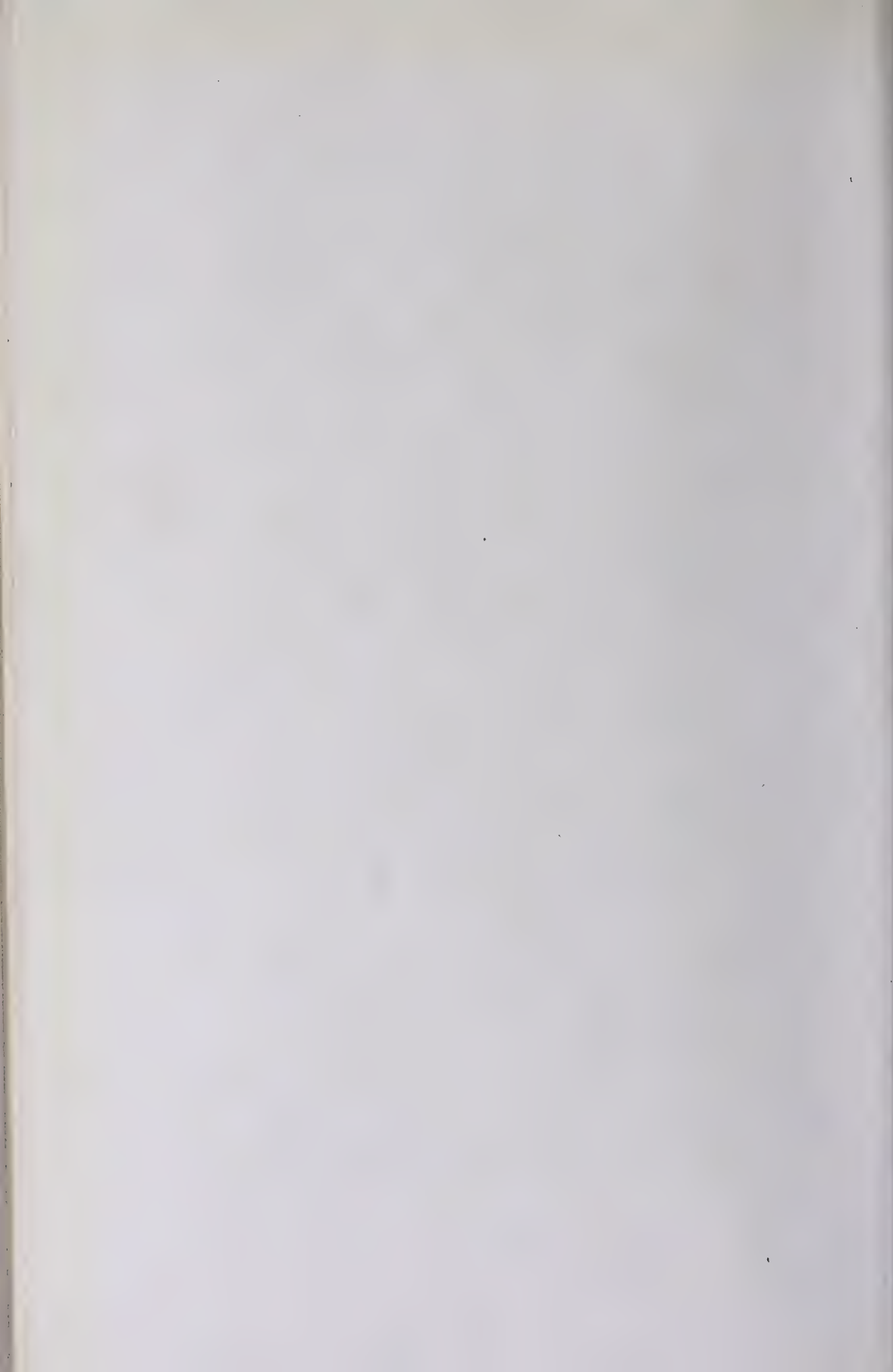


WALL PANEL OF MOSAIC TILE. SAMARKAND. 13TH-15TH CENTURY.
IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM COLLECTION.



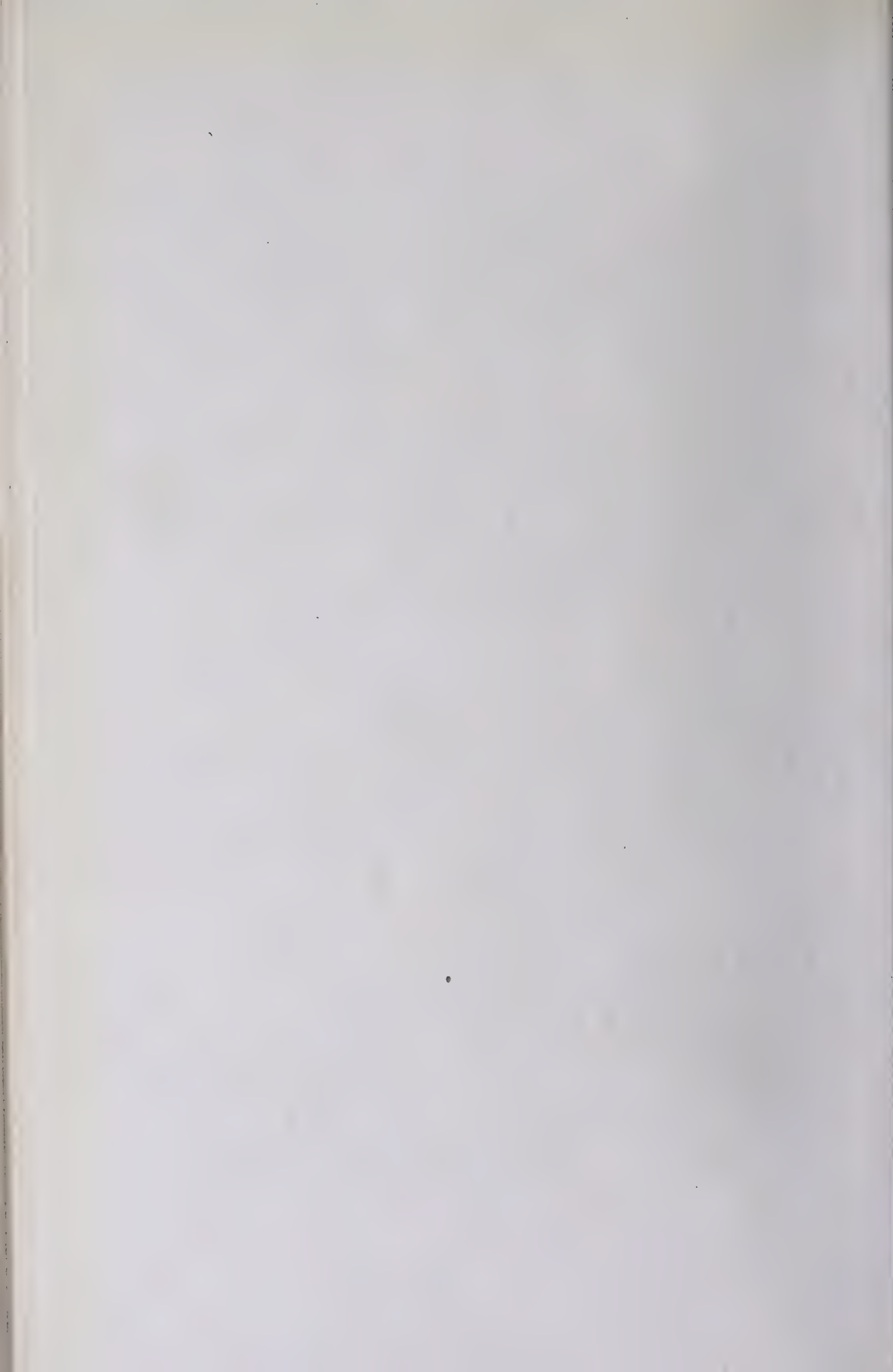


WALL PANEL OF MOSAIC TILE. SAMARKAND. 13TH-15TH CENTURY.
IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM COLLECTION.





POTTERIES FOUND AT FOSTAT, OLD CAIRO. 8TH-13TH CENTURY.
IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM COLLECTION.



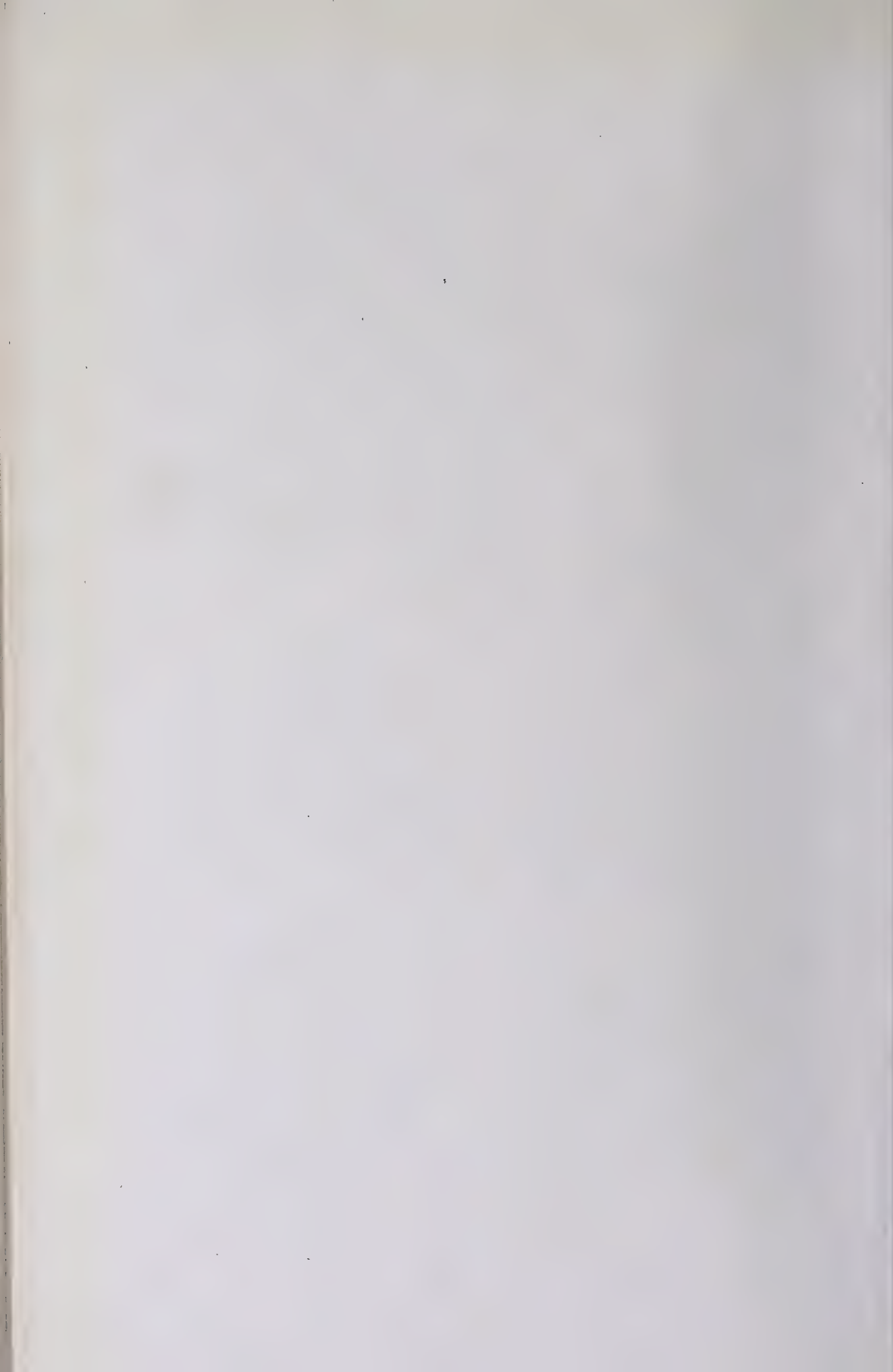


POTTERIES FOUND AT FOSTAT, OLD CAIRO. 8TH-13TH CENTURY.
IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM COLLECTION.





POTTERIES FOUND AT POSTAT, OLD CAIRO. 8TH-13TH CENTURY.
IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM COLLECTION.





POTTERIES FOUND AT FOSTAT, OLD CAIRO. 8TH-13TH CENTURY.
IN THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM COLLECTION.

any series of princes in the world. A band of lawless adventurers, slaves in origin, butchers by choice, turbulent, bloodthirsty, and too often treacherous, these slave kings had a keen appreciation for the arts which would have done credit to the most civilized ruler that ever sat on a constitutional throne. Their morals were indifferent, their conduct was violent and unscrupulous, yet they show in their buildings, their decoration, their dress, and their furniture, a taste which it would be hard to parallel in Western countries even in the present age of enlightenment. It is one of the most singular facts in Eastern history, that wherever these rude Tartars penetrated, there they inspired a fresh and vivid enthusiasm for art. It was the Tartar Ibn-Tulun who built the first example of the true Saracenic mosque at Cairo; it was the line of Mamluk Sultans, all Turkish or Circassian slaves, who filled Cairo with the most beautiful and abundant monuments that any city can show. The arts were in Egypt long before the Tartars became her rulers, but they stirred them into new life, and made the Saracenic work of Egypt the centre and headpiece of Moham-medan art."

It is true that the Mamluks were not of the Arabic race. It is true that they belonged to an alien and conquered people but it is also true that they had been long under the tutelage of their generous Arabic masters before they themselves became the rulers of Arab Empires. We do not know that they ever produced from their own number an artist or a craftsman. We only know that the taste which they acquired under their old masters and a barbaric instinct for splendour, led them to foster the arts already created by the Arabs without changing in any respect the spirit and tradition of these earlier productions. The only change to be observed is a less literal interpretation of the Prophet's ordinances.

With the conquest of the Mamluks by the Ottoman Turks in the early 16th century, began the decline of Arabic Art in all of its branches, and its later history is a wretched story of degradation.

ARCHITECTURE

It is easy to find fault with Arabic Architecture, an art which its creators mastered but never understood. That very want of understanding is the quality that appeals through structural defects and lack of symmetry. It is the same kind of charm that claims our praises in the work of the child that somehow of its own resources



Detail of Wooden Door with Carved Ivory Inlay, shown in Fig. 4. Cairo, 14th Century.
FIG. 6.

manages to produce a perfectly sincere but ungainly and often picturesque imitation of the work of his elders without knowledge and without understanding.

MOSAIC

It is far otherwise with interior decoration. In this respect our admiration is due to an understanding that appears instinctive and that leaves most other historical performances in the same field far behind.

Mosaics were used in floors, fountains, and in wall decorations. Minute blocks of stone, white, black, red together with blocks of blue tile and mother of pearl were wrought into the patterns of pavement and wall panels in a great variety of design in which



Wooden Door, now in the University Museum. Cairò, 17th Century.

FIG. 7.

the intricate symmetry of interlacing lines, the harmonious division and subdivision of surfaces, and the use of soft colours are the expedients used with striking effect.

The use of mosaic decoration was chiefly in connection with floors and with dados four or five feet high decorating the walls of chamber or mosque. In its characteristic form the dado consists of slabs of white, grey, or black marble and borders of the same divided by the little cubes of different coloured stone and mother of pearl combined to form a pattern in which the geometrical motive is repeated with subtle variations to avoid monotony while preserving unity, rhythm, balance and harmony. The reception room of an Arab house had a special feature in the form of a central fountain with basin usually sunk below the floor. On these fountains the worker in mosaic often did his best work and displayed the finest resources of his craftsmanship. Other points at which mosaic was introduced were borders of doorways and wall panels entitled to special honour. A large fountain in the University Museum that I obtained in Cairo in 1919 and a smaller one obtained at the same time and place, are from Cairo houses of the 15th century and are superb examples of mosaic in its application to floors and fountains.

WOODWORK AND IVORY

The furniture of the Arab house, palace or sanctuary was so restricted compared with the corresponding Christian usages that the domestic and religious use of woodwork and ivory, like mosaic, is largely confined to details of construction and decoration. Ceilings, doors, cupboards and Koran desks afford the best examples of woodwork from dwelling and mosque. Wood is very scarce in Egypt and the small units and numerous little panels that characterize Egyptian woodwork in particular are probably due to the scarcity of large pieces of wood. Ivory panels of various shapes exquisitely chiseled with scrollwork and interlacing patterns which skilfully avoid repetition, sometimes form the precious inlays of doors, framed in ebony and supported by other wooden mouldings and borders often inlaid with narrow ivory strips. In especially honoured positions on these Cairo doors are small panels carved with inscriptions, usually from the Koran. These inscribed panels may be of wood as in the example shown on page 16 or of ivory as in the magnificent double doors shown on page 10.



Detail of Wooden Door with Ivory Inlay, shown in Fig. 7. Cairo, 17th Century.

FIG. 8.

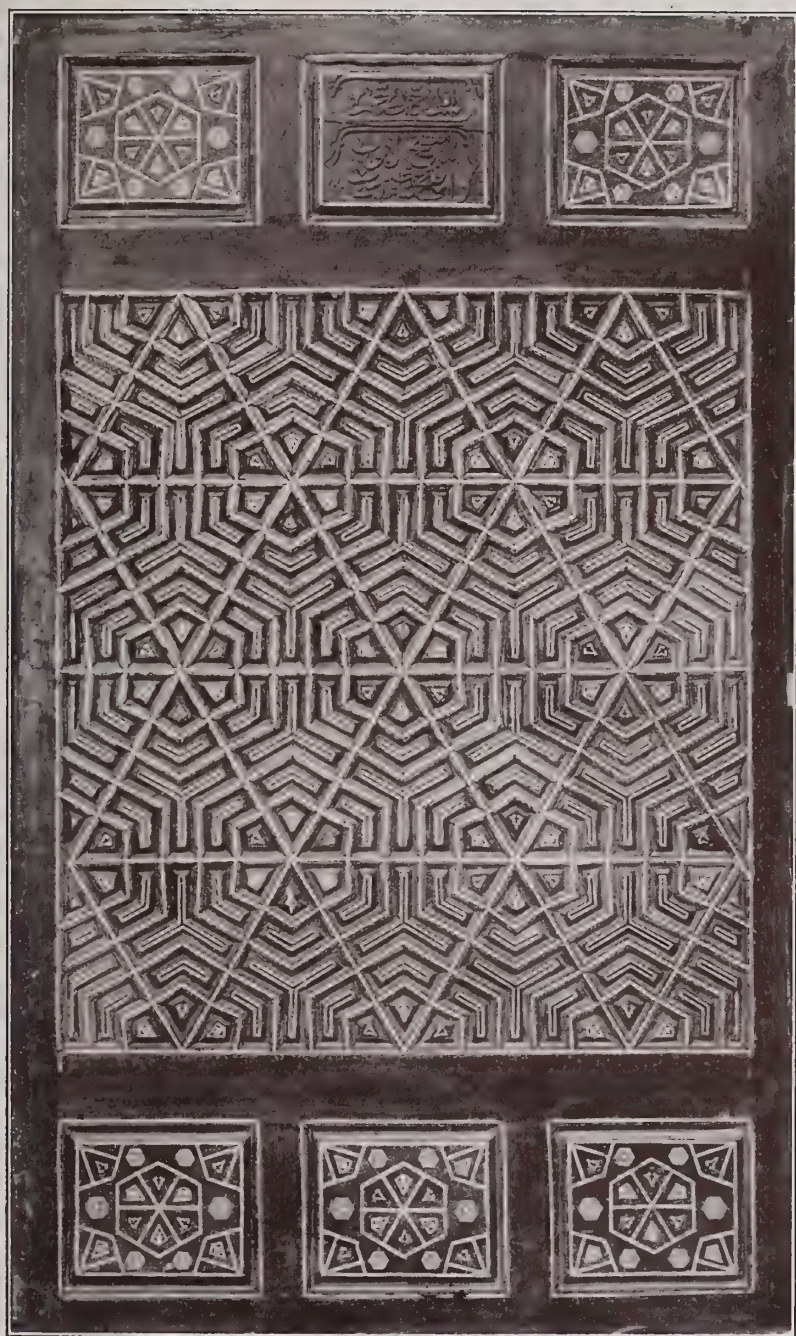
A splendid pair of double doors from Persia in the Museum collection are made each of three wooden panels framed with wood of the same kind. Panels and frames are alike filled with texts from the Koran in raised letters chiseled in the wood. These doors belonged to a shrine and were made in Persia during the 15th century.

TILES

Among the minor arts nothing fulfills the purpose of Arabic Art or expresses Arabic taste more faithfully than the tiles that decorated the walls of palaces and mosques and that sometimes provided the exterior finish of mosque, mausoleum, fountain or palace. The Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem will be recalled as a magnificent example of the use of glazed and coloured tiles to cover the exterior of a building. The more frequent application of this decorative covering was on interior walls, especially of mosques, but also of palaces. The fabrication of tiles was cultivated at Cairo, Damascus, in Persia and in Samarkand from the 11th century. The tiles of Persia and of Samarkand are easily distinguished both as to design and as to technical process employed in the making. The Egyptian and the Syrian tile represent a common industry and a common product distinguished from the products of Persia on the one hand and those of Samarkand on the other. Till the beginning of the seventeenth century Damascus and Cairo were making tiles of good quality and the industry was passed on to Broussa and Kutahia and other parts of Asia Minor where factories were established for supplying tiles for the mosques of Constantinople. The brilliant enamelled tiles known as Rhodian were products of these Asia Minor industries, such as that found at Isnik.

The Egyptian and Syrian tile presents a flat surface painted in blue with graceful scrollwork and conventionalized foliage and flowers, all spread on a white or creamy ground and covered with a thick transparent glaze. In the Asia Minor factories the same methods obtained except that in the tile known as Rhodian, the design is produced by coloured enamels—blue and red which are laid separately on the stamped matrix of clay and afterwards finished with a thin overglaze. In Spain a similar process succeeded earlier processes about the middle of the 16th century and was practised till the middle of the 17th century.

In Persia during the 13th and 14th century and early part of the 15th were made the lustered tiles, a product of marvelous



Wooden Door. Cairo, 17th Century.

In the University Museum.

FIG. 9.



Detail of Wooden Door, shown in Fig. 9. Cairo, 17th Century.

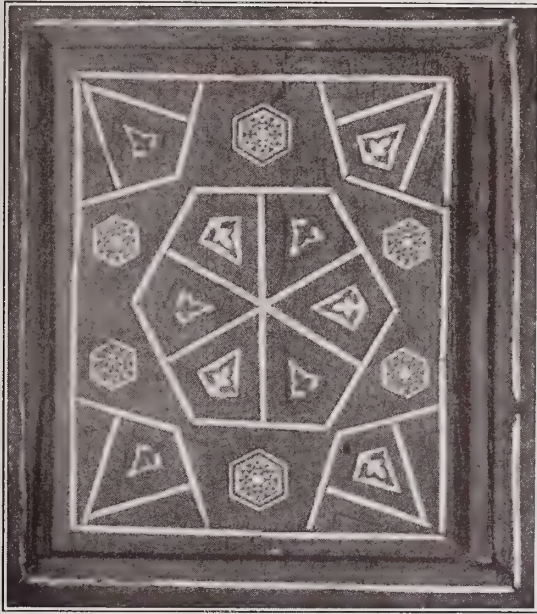
FIG. 10.

richness. The most important lustered tiles were made in large sections sometimes two feet square and of corresponding thickness. The decoration on the surface took the form of reliefs picked out in colours of exquisite delicacy which glowed with a soft metallic lustre. These larger tiles were used chiefly for monumental mosque decorations and for constructing the most sacred ornamental features such as the Mihrab. A magnificent example in the Museum came from a mosque in Veramin and is dated in the 13th century.

In Samarkhand apparently originated another method of tile decoration. Small flat sections sometimes sexagonal are joined together to form a blue field which is pierced to receive the pieces of irregular size and shape that together form the design in varied colours. Three panels of this rare and precious technique, said to have come from Teheran, are in the Museum.

POTTERY

Fostat, a sand covered ruin immediately to the south of Cairo, was the first Arab town in Egypt, founded by 'Amr in the 7th century and abandoned in the 13th century for the present capital. On the outskirts of Fostat is an extensive rubbish heap—the dump of the old city—retaining in its 60 feet of depth the débris of the domestic life of five centuries. Recent excavations at Fostat carried on under the auspices of the Arabic Museum in Cairo and with the supervision of its able Director, Ali Bey Bahgat, have yielded much



Detail of Ivory Inlay in Wooden Door, shown in Fig. 9. Cairo, 17th Century.

FIG. 11.

interesting information about the architecture, drainage, streets and water supply of the first Arab Capital, but the most interesting discoveries have been made in the dump heap where many fragments of broken potteries have been brought to light. These fragments are of the greatest importance for the history of ceramics in Arabic lands. Though they do not reveal any of the delicate translucent varieties mentioned by Nasir-i-Khosrau, the 11th century Persian traveller, yet these discoveries confirm his description of Fostat as a great centre of the ceramic trade where the potter's art was cultivated to such purpose that its products were justly celebrated.



Carved Wooden Doors with Passages from the Koran, now in the University Museum.
Persia, 15th Century.

FIG. 12.

That the potteries found at Fostat were made at that place is proved by the finding of the apparatus of the potter and the very furnaces themselves. Yet one of the outstanding observations to be made on any representative collection of Fostat pottery is that it contains types that are traceable to Syria, Asia Minor and to Spain on the one hand and to Persia and China on the other. It is a proof of the widespread commercial relations of the time and of the fact that artists and craftsmen in far distant parts learned from one another and handled each other's wares.

It is obvious that some of the Fostat wares must be earlier and others later. I believe that Ali Bey who has conducted the excavations has classified the fragments on the basis of stratification observed in the dump heap. Not having sufficient personal knowledge of these excavations and not having had an opportunity of discussing the matter with Ali Bey, I have not attempted to classify the examples shown here by way of illustration. I have been content to group them as products made during a period beginning with the 8th century and ending with the 13th when Fostat was abandoned. The Museum acquired in 1919 from the Arabic Museum in Cairo a collection of more than 600 pieces of Fostat pottery representing every variety as well as the materials and appliances of the potter.

METALWORK

It is commonly stated that metal working in Arabic Art had its origin or revival in Mesopotamia during the 13th century or earlier. It is true that the earliest and best examples in modern collections can be traced to Mesopotamia and connected with 13th century traditions. There was at that time a school of artists and craftsmen at Mosul who cultivated engraving, chasing, embossing and inlaying in metals. Bronze was the favourite medium, and silver was used for inlay. As Mosul appears to have been the chief seat of this productive activity it is properly called the Mosul style, a style easily recognized and characterized by the free use of animal figures in the designs. It is probable that under the early Khalifs the rigorous teaching of Mohammed was followed in orthodox fashion by rulers and people. Though not necessarily always of pious lives they took care that in outward appearance no violence should be done to the precepts of the Koran and such prohibitions as that relating to the making of pictures were gen-



Detail of Bronze Ewer Shown in Frontispiece.

FIG. 13.

erally observed. But it is evident that before the beginning of the 13th century a more liberal spirit prevailed, means were found for accommodating orthodox views to a freer cultivation of the arts and thus Mosul metalwork presents the figures of beasts of the chase, men and horses, hounds, heraldic animals, such as the double headed eagle, water birds, throned princes and single combats, all wrought skillfully into the scrollwork composing the patterns.

Perhaps this more careless attitude towards orthodox practice may have been closely connected with the Tartar invasion and the establishment of Tartar dynasties in the place of the Arab Khalifs. These invaders, though already Mohammedans did not feel the strict regulations of Islam with the same intensity as the Arab. On the other hand their love of barbaric splendour was strong and

therefore it is probable that the laws enjoined by religion against the making of images were relaxed under these Tartar rulers for the benefit of Art. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Tartar invasion bringing with it a less orthodox form of Mohammedanism was responsible for that loosening of official and popular feeling which permitted the lavish use of man and beast in the sumptuous decorations of inlaid bronze vessels.

The Museum possesses a superb example of Mosul metal-work in the form of a ewer 16 inches high, chased and inlaid with silver. The workmanship can be referred with certainty to the beginning of the 13th century and the vessel is one of the earliest as well as one of the finest examples known.

On either side of the neck is a lionlike animal embossed; on the shoulder is an animal repeated on each of the surfaces, with variations. Sometimes it has wings and sometimes not. Sometimes it has a fox's tail, sometimes a lion's tail and again a tail with a bunch at the end. The head in each case appears to be that of the gazelle, but the body resembles that of a lion.

Lower down is a band of inscription and in the central position is a band of scrollwork describing loops that frame the repeated outlines of another animal figure. In this instance it is a winged lion with a human head—an ancient Assyrian motive, surviving into the 13th century and reappearing under Mohammedan disguise.

The plain bands, the bodies of the animals and the letters of the inscription are all inlaid with silver. The process of inlaying consists in picking out the borders of the surfaces to be inlaid with a fine point in a series of fine indentations directed slightly outward, so as to produce a very delicate, continuous toothed undercut edge. Upon the surfaces thus prepared the thin sections of silver are laid and by pressure forced into the indentations that hold the inlay firmly in position.

THE KORAN

Penmanship among the Mohammedans was esteemed among the foremost of the arts and ranked together with poesy and scholarship as the noblest of attainments. The works of the poet and of the historian were transcribed in beautiful flowing characters with exquisite skill and unremitting pains by calligraphers who were often as famous as the poets whose work they copied.

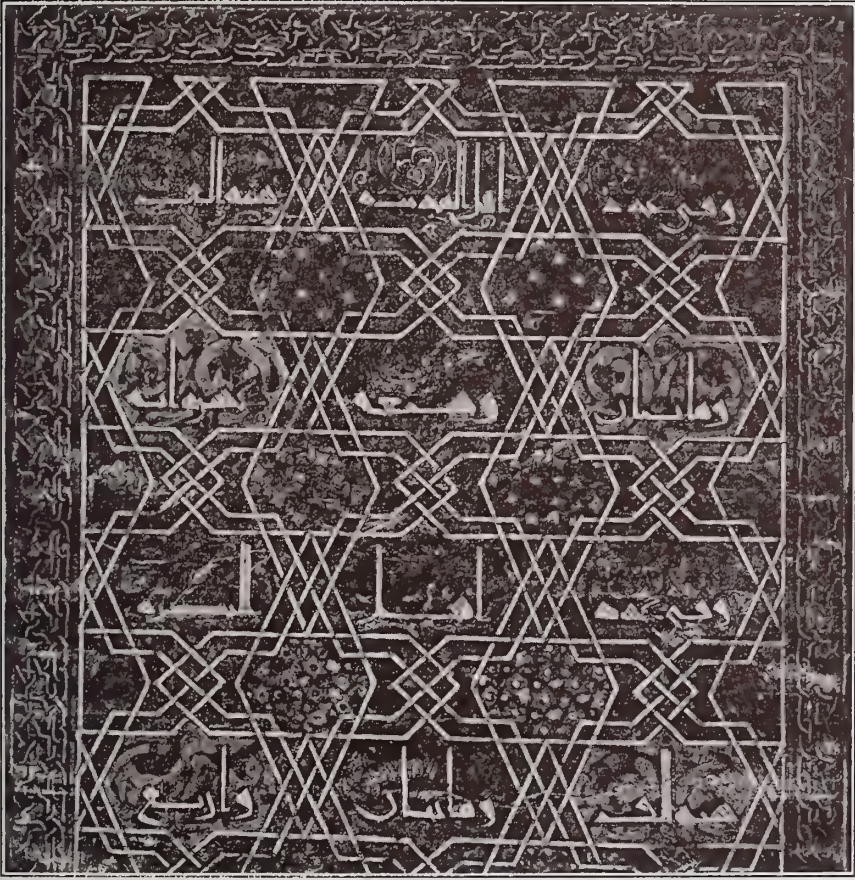
The Koran was the object of particular care and a special form of embellishment was reserved for its pages.

Besides the title pages that were so richly adorned with glowing colours and with gold in patterns laid out in intricate and lavish lines and with much virtuosity, each page of the Koran was often adorned upon the margins with medallions in gold and colours and with chapter headings wrought into arabesques and scrollwork of the same technique.

In the Museum is a Koran of the early 14th Century that I obtained in Cairo in 1919. The outer cover is leather stamped with an all over pattern picked out in gold. At either end are three full pages of illumination in prevailing gold with medallions in blue, letters and interlacing lines in white and scrollwork and floral attributes outlined in black. The main field consists of an interlacing system of arabesque forming small panels, each enclosing a portion of the Cufic text. This main field is surrounded by a single border of interlacing lines. The use of Cufic letters in this title page is of course an example of survival. It is used on the title page but not in the body of the book. The Cufic form of letters was not in general use later than the 9th Century. This copy of the Koran must be assigned to the early part of the 14th Century.

The same exquisite style of workmanship is carried throughout the medallions and chapter headings, of which there are many. The medallions and the rosettes that served the purpose of punctuation and of emphasis for the guidance of the Reader, are in ink or in colour on a gold ground. The lines are free flowing lines for the most part. The Chapter headings that occupy the width of the pages, are displayed each within a gold field upon which delicate scrolls are traced in ink or overlaid with blue. Within this field is a blue panel in which the letters are done in gold outlined in white.

G. B. G.



Portion of One of the Illuminated Title Pages of a Koran in the University Museum.
Made in Cairo early in the 14th Century.

FIG. 14.

BETH-SHEAN

THE Beth-shean of Scripture, called Scythopolis by the Greeks and now the little village of Beisan, has been an object of scholarly interest ever since the modern scientific world turned its attention to the study of the history and topography of the Holy Land.

It is true that Biblical references are meagre and later Classical records do not give us much detailed information about the city, beyond establishing its reputation as a place of wealth and strength. Nevertheless, the strategic situation of the fortress at the eastern end of the Valley of Armageddon whence it must have overlooked so many decisive struggles between the Empires of the East and West, added to the enigma of the origin of the later name Scythopolis, have enshrouded the Têl in fascinating mystery.

During the Ottoman régime no effort could be made to solve this mystery. The site formed part of the private property of the Sultan; it lay in a fertile district considerably below the sea level; was noted for excessive heat, malarial climate and insecure political conditions. Under present guardianship rapid progress has been made in draining the neighboring swamps, and although there are still raids on the district by Bedawi from Trans-Jordania, the country is safe for excavation purposes. It was not until the Law of Antiquities of 1920 came into force under the British Administration that permission to excavate could be obtained. For some years our Museum had maintained an expedition in Egypt, completely equipped and organized with a welltrained force of native workmen, so that as soon as the actual concession was granted it was only necessary to proceed to Palestine and begin work. Excavation started towards the end of June, 1921, and continued to the end of October.

From the railway station only the top of the Têl is visible, rising above the edge of a plateau that still shows signs of one of the final Anglo-Turkish skirmishes. Here and there odd columns and bits of masonry suggest the presence of Greek or Roman villas, and the line of the old city wall can be traced along the north and west until it disappears in the distance behind the modern village. The hill stands at the junction of the river Jalûd and one of its tributaries. On reaching the edge of the plateau and looking across the deep ravine through which the main stream rushes, the full height and



Tel el Hasn, the Site of the Citadel of Ancient Beth-shean.

FIG. 15.

contour of the Têl becomes apparent and one realizes the majesty and impregnability of its position (Fig. 15). The slopes rise steeply, the only practicable ascent being on the west where a narrow path, no doubt following the line of an earlier causeway, leads to the ruins of a gate at the northwest corner. Inside this an almost level terrace extends round the eastern side of the hill, while a second on the west rises more steeply to the summit. The whole surface is clean and undisturbed. Not even the usual Moslem sacred shrine interferes with the complete investigation of the site.

The primitive fortress with the little town clustering around it occupied only the top and upper slopes of this rocky knoll, and from then onward the Têl was the nucleus of the city in its many stages of development. In the earlier Semitic periods growth was confined wholly to the saddle of land to the west sheltered under the lee of the citadel. By the classical period, Scythopolis, by which name it was known then, had developed into one of the great cities of the East, and the ruins of temples, theatres, and public buildings of this epoch cover an extensive area. To excavate these will be the task of many years.

The original portion of the site has of course the greater interest for us and here should be found the materials for the reconstruction of Semitic history and civilization. For this reason the expedition will devote the first few years to the complete clearance of this area. For the preliminary season I decided to limit our investigations to the top of the central hill. Some small trial cuttings were made to determine the boundaries of the terrace, and then a wide trench was carried into the eastern side of the upper slope to establish the vertical stratification from summit to rock. The strata exposed range from early Arab at the top down through Byzantine and Classical levels, each with its characteristic pottery, into a series of mud-brick walls associated with pottery of the Semitic periods. The lowest level reached contained a large circular structure approximately dated to 2000 B. C. Below this the débris continued with no signs as yet of the natural rock, thus proving the antiquity of the hill to be even greater than we had anticipated. At this level were several jars of thick rough gritty ware with a wash of hematite coarsely applied. On one was scratched a crude drawing of some long horned animal resembling an ibex. At a slightly higher level were two burials. The skeleton was that of a young woman laid on her side partly contracted in an enclosure formed by a single row of



Beginning the Excavation of the Citadel of Beth-shean.

FIG. 16.

stones. In this were placed a number of earthenware vessels, the larger against the wall, the smaller behind the skeleton. The types are well known in Palestine as belonging to 1800-1600 B. C., contemporaneous with the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt. At the neck were a number of beads, two being of glazed quartzite.

With the sequence of the strata ascertained it was possible to proceed at once with the systematic dissection of the hill. To facilitate the main work two separate areas were laid out, one including a large portion of the lower north and east terraces, the other embracing the entire summit. In each of these in turn a single stratum of buildings was cleared. The men were then transferred to the other area, leaving that just excavated free for the work of photographing, drawing and recording. Overlooking the lower terrace as we face towards the north we see the surface thickly covered with broken stones and projecting portions of granite columns. At the left is the mass of masonry forming one side of the entrance gate. In the background, just across the ravine lie the rock tombs of the ancient necropolis inside the line of the city wall. In the far distance are the tents of a squadron of mounted Indian troops, while nearer on the left is the original camp of our expedition—afterwards moved to the railway station.

At the close of the season the terrace had been cleared down through three levels. The topmost series of walls belong to the town built by the Arabs after their first conquest in 632 A. D. They were erected partly on the foundations of and largely with the material taken from preceding Byzantine and Early Christian buildings. The old columns, of black granite, were used mainly to strengthen the new walls, and were often found inverted or broken in half for convenience in handling. The heavier masonry on the left of the photograph is the lower terrace or inner enclosing wall connecting with the gate. Just inside this, re-used in a room, evidently a kitchen, we found a large marble stele. This bore a Greek inscription commemorating the restoration of the city wall at the instance of Flavius Arsenius during the local magistracy of Flavius Leon. Some years ago another similar slab was unearthed at Beisan and is now in the house of the District Officer there. This refers to the same work of restoration but gives in addition the name of the Emperor Flavius Anastasius which establishes its date as probably 509-510 A. D. A certain Flavius Arsenius is known to have possessed great influence at the Court of Byzantium about 530 A. D., which he is

said to have exercised in the interest of Scythopolis, probably because it was his birthplace. The dates in the two inscriptions are a year apart. As the restoration of the city wall was a work of considerable magnitude extending over several years probably a tablet was inserted in the face of each completed portion. In the débris we found a number of bronze lamp frames, vessels and fragments of fine mosaic, undoubtedly belonging to the Christian Church on the summit, of which we shall speak later.

The original Byzantine buildings appear from their plan to have been used as barracks or storerooms. Quantities of burned wood and badly broken and smoke discolored mosaic floors proved that they had been destroyed by fire. Water from the roofs was carried off through round pipes usually built into the angles of the walls and under the floors to cisterns. All connections were rendered watertight by a coating of cement. Waste water was conveyed through stone or brick drains lined with plaster and covered with tiles to outlets in the exterior walls.

Below this level was finely preserved masonry of a third period not yet fully cleared. The stones were regularly coursed and laid in the system usually associated with Roman work.

The large buildings on the lower terrace did not extend as far as the gate, a considerable space between being filled in with poorly constructed houses and a vaulted chamber, probably a cistern. In its present form the gate is not earlier than the Byzantine or may be even as late as the Arab period. It was, however, built on the site of an earlier entrance clearly marked by the lines of the original pavement and by some massive foundations just outside the opening. Blocks of varying shapes, drums and capitals of columns and pedestals had been used in the side walls of the gate, and at a still later period, a casing of rough stones had narrowed the road inside the wall. The gate itself was no doubt closed with heavy wooden doors turning in stone sockets and fastened by a thick bar, which when not in use slid back out of sight in a deep channel left in the masonry. This recess as well as the shallower one on the opposite side in which the end was held was found intact. The street inside the gate extended some 30 metres eastwards in a gentle incline, then made an abrupt bend to the south. Beyond this point it has not yet been followed but clearly ascended to the summit. The earlier paving stones were placed systematically, while later repairs, of larger blocks, had been laid less regularly.



Moving the Stela of Seti I. Crossing a Branch of the River Ja'ûd.

FIG. 17.

The summit offered for the most part a fairly level surface with several small rubble walls still traceable. An angle of heavy masonry projected at the northwest, while along the southern end a low ridge of débris suggested the existence of some large structure. The first stratum uncovered here contained another part of the Arab town, the floor level only $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 metre below the surface. A wide straight street, orientated nearly due east and west, divided it into two equal parts. The majority of the houses were constructed in accordance with this axis and only near the east edge, where existing walls had been utilized, did certain of the rooms lack symmetry. Narrower passages branched off north and south from the main thoroughfare, that to the north being paved with stone. The surface of the main street had large patches of pavement composed of fragments of white marble tiles roughly relaid. Three fine Byzantine capitals and a base, of white marble, had been set up as seats beside the outer doors of houses. Near the western end, half buried in the filling of the street, was a shaft of green and white streaked marble with three inscriptions on the upper exposed surface. One was in Hebrew script of about the 8th century, the other two in Arabic. The more legible of the latter stated that it had been written by "Mohammed the son of Saeed the son of Il Khattab the Sahabi in the month of Rabee the second in the year 170 A. H. (= 784 A. D.).

On the right of the street, near the shaft was a small room used as a mosque with a mihrab (prayer niche) modelled in white stucco. The floor was of white plaster concealing a mosaic of squares and crosses, that was later found to form part of a larger scheme. Other sections of mosaic of different patterns were uncovered in the same vicinity. These were all partly built over by the later walls and clearly belonged to an earlier non-Moslem structure. We had already found in the débris of the slope numerous pieces of carved marble copings and terraces pointing to the existence of an important edifice on the summit, possibly a Christian church. This became more probable after the removal of the ridge at the southern end had revealed a small vaulted monastic building. At the eastern end was a bakery, with an oven built in two superimposed parts. The lower furnace compartment was covered with a flat dome of baked brick. The fire was replenished through a short low arched tunnel connected with a tiny outer enclosure. The oven above, of similar construction, had a door with a wide projecting ledge or counter opening into the main room. Here were found fragments

of several large flat basalt millstones. As there could not have been power at this elevation sufficient to operate a grist mill, these must have been brought here for some other purpose.

Next to the bakery was a large cemented cistern with a barrel vault rising above the level of the neighboring floors. The opening on its top platform from which the water was drawn, was reached by a short flight of narrow steps.

Almost half of the lower floor of the monastery was occupied by the refectory. Over this was perhaps the dormitory, as outside the wall were the remains of a double staircase. The refectory had tables and seats lengthwise of the hall. A course of beautifully dressed and fitted masonry—left from a previous wall—served for the table on the right, while several broken columns supported either a wooden or a stone top on the left. Stone benches were built in between the vaulting piers on either side, and rows of rough blocks formed seats down the centre. A sarcophagus at one end provided a place for ablutions.

I had presumed that the church had been built in the usual basilica style. When the excavations disclosed only the vestiges of mosaic floors it appeared as though the whole structure, if such had existed, must have been swept away completely by the Moslem conquerors. It was therefore without much hope of finding anything beyond such portions of foundations as might have been spared in the wholesale destruction and subsequent rebuilding, that I began the removal of the Arab houses. But almost at once the workmen came upon several large door sills. Their positions did not conform to any possible rectangular plan and were arranged radially, whether from a common centre or not could not be determined at the moment. By following out the foundations on which they rested a circular church was brought to light. There are several churches with this form dating to the 7th century A. D., known in Palestine and Syria. That at Bosrah in the Hauran is a close parallel to the one just excavated at Beisan. Our building is practically complete as to plan and sufficient material was found to give us a fairly accurate conception of its details.

Across the entire western front, at right angles to the main axis, extended a vestibule, floored with small squares of red and white stone tiles laid diagonally within a narrow marble border. This had no traceable entrance at the front, but at the northern end were remains of a flight of steps approached by a sloping causeway similar



Roman Vault that carried the Wall of Beth-shean over the River Jalúd.
FIG. 18.

to that at the gate. The vestibule gave access to the main part of the church, about 36 metres in diameter. The heavier of its two concentric foundations carried the exterior wall which had doors into chambers at the corners, making it appear approximately square in plan. The inner wall had a wide coping and supported columns. Eight of these have been found and while the exact position and arrangement cannot be determined with accuracy, the fact that the columns lay in pairs and certainly not very far from their original positions around the wall, suggested a series of wide openings each divided by two shafts alternating with solid walls. The capitals and bases had all been removed and only the four found in the upper stratum and two additional bases recovered from the débris in the monastery seem to have been preserved. They were of white marble. The bases had the usual Attic contour and the Corinthian capitals were of good proportions and well cut details. The shafts, of slightly varying dimensions, averaged 4.20 metres in length. Others besides the one already mentioned as found in the Arab street bore rudely chiselled Arabic inscriptions. At the eastern end of the axis was the apse, a long and rather narrow chamber with a semicircular end projecting well beyond the line of the rear wall. Of this only the incomplete foundation walls remained. The continuity of the columned portion of the rotondo was intercepted by the side walls of the apse and another section adjoining the vestibule had likewise been partitioned off. The latter was paved with the square patterned mosaic mentioned previously as having been uncovered in the mosque. The other parts had floors of black and white stone squares laid diagonally. On either side of the entrance from the vestibule had been large niches with mosaics specially designed for the semicircular plan. Only the one at the southwest was in situ and near it were found two jars containing tiny gilded and delicately colored red, yellow, blue and green glass tesserae. Unfortunately no clue could be obtained to the decorative scheme. In early churches the use of such tesserae was restricted to the upper portions of walls and to the interior of domes.

The central rotondo had a floor paved with white marble flags which was slightly lower than the rest of the church. It was probably domed. A channel extending around nearly the whole circumference doubtless served to collect and carry off the water coming through an opening in the dome. This canal and others from different chambers drained into the large cistern in the monastery.



The Camp of the University Museum Expedition at Beisan. Showing Mount Gilboa in the Distance.

FIG. 19.

The interior of the church was lighted with bronze lamps suspended from the ceiling by chains of the same material. A number of nearly perfect specimens have been found already. They were round or square frames with four or six holes for the glass receptacles containing the oil. Precisely similar lamps are used throughout the East in modern times.

As the work proceeded it became more and more apparent that the circular church had after all been built over an earlier rectangular basilica—either early Christian or late Roman. There is evidence that the vestibule and the room at the northwest formed part of this building, and had been incorporated in the new plan. The floor in the former is similar to one of red and white tiles in a large rectangular room behind the eastern apse, where part of the later floor of the *rotondo* had been laid over the tile work. In the northwestern chamber the mosaic displayed better technique. The design was of alternate large and small interlacing circles each with bands of black, red and yellow tesserae on a white ground. The border was the usual *guilloche* in similar colors. It had been burned and the circular walls had cut off one of its corners.

The first basilica had a drainage system conforming to its rectangular plan, but being on the same level the canals had been cut through and partly blocked by those of the later building. They had drained into an entirely different cistern east of the vestibule found partly filled with drums of large columns and fragments of architectural members of corresponding scale.

During the excavations on the summit a vertical shaft was sunk near the southwestern side where no pavements or walls were in situ. At a depth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres from the surface we found a large basalt stele with an Egyptian inscription of Sety I, 1313–1292 B. C. This lay on its side, with one edge broken away and the inscribed face badly weathered. It was not in its original position and had evidently been reused, as the upper portion containing part of a relief panel had been cut off. The stele bears twenty lines of hieroglyphs in which mention is made of the Syrians. So far as it has been deciphered the inscription is made up mainly of the usual laudatory attributes of the king.

Throughout the entire period of four months the work of the expedition progressed smoothly and rapidly due in no small measure to the assistance rendered by the various Departments of the Government of Palestine. The portable railway lent by the Department

of Antiquities greatly lightened the labor of excavation. The Railway Administration, besides granting special transport facilities, permitted us the use of the waiting room of the Beisan station as an office and storeroom for our records and finds. It is with great satisfaction that we look forward to carrying on in future years under such kindly auspices.

C. S. F.

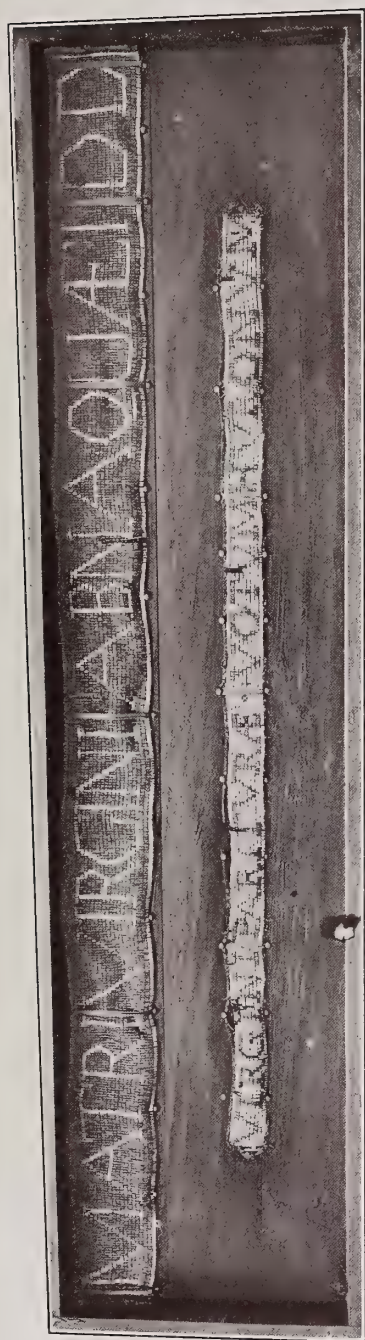
RECENT DISCOVERY OF ANCIENT WAMPUM BELTS

DURING the summer of 1921, Doctor Gordon, the Director of the Museum, in company with Doctor Leon Legrain, paid a visit to the Cathedral at Chartres, France, and discovered in the crypt of the Cathedral in the Chapel of Saint Savinien and Saint Potentien, a gilded wooden frame containing two wampum belts made by the American Indians. One of these was presented by the Hurons in 1674 and the other by the Abnaquis in 1699.

The Huron belt is 1.445 m. long and 7 cm. wide. Upon the ground of white beads there is the legend in blue beads with letters 45 mm. high, VIRGINI PARITURAE VOTUM HURONUM, The offering of the Hurons to the Virgin who shall bring forth a Son. The belt was bordered with a sort of embroidery in red porcupine quills.

The Abnaqui belt is 2.18 m. long and 15 cm. high, having a legend in white letters 10 cm. high upon a background of blue beads, MATRI VIRGINI ABNAQUAEI. D. D.

These belts are of so much interest that a short historical account would seem desirable. When Champlain discovered the Saint Lawrence in 1608, he found the Huron Indians of the neighborhood carrying on fierce warfare with their neighbors, the Iroquois. By giving the Hurons firearms and other assistance, Champlain made such firm friends of the Hurons that they willingly accepted the French missions which came to them later on. The French established trading posts on the Saint Lawrence at Three Rivers and elsewhere and the Hurons made annual trips for trading purposes. The Indians invited the missionaries into their country and in 1615 the Recollect Fathers accepted their invitation and established the first mission. The Jesuits began their labors with the advent of Father Brebeuf in Huronia in 1626; but these missions all came to an end in 1650 with the destruction of the Huron commonwealth by the Iroquois. By 1643, the Iroquois had obtained some four hundred guns from the Dutch and this advantage encouraged them to make their final invasion of Huron country and enabled them to overcome the feeble resistance of the Hurons. A number of Hurons wintered in Quebec in 1649 and did not return to their own country after they learned of the desolation made by



Two Wampum Belts framed under glass in the Crypt of Chartres Cathedral.
FIG. 20.

the Iroquois but were placed on land belonging to the Jesuits at Beauport. These were joined by Huron fugitives who came down to Quebec to seek protection and in 1651 they moved to Orleans Island which had been bought for them. Here a mission house was erected near their stockaded bark lodges. They numbered in all some five or six hundred persons. Here they were again attacked by the Iroquois and a few of them were given refuge by the French at Quebec until peace was declared between the French and the Iroquois in 1666. The Hurons then withdrew about five miles from the town where the missionaries arranged their lodges about a square and built in the middle of it a church to which Father Chaumonot added a chapel patterned after the Casa Sancta Lorette in Italy and now known as Old Lorette.

One of the earliest missionaries sent to the Hurons was the Reverend Martin Bouvart, a member of a prominent family of Chartres. He was a descendant of the famous Bouvart who was doctor to Louis XV. Father Bouvart was very proud of the city of his birth and greatly devoted to the patron Lady of the city. He was fond of telling the Indians about the Lady of Chartres and of her great miracles and of the ceremonies in the church. These talks appealed to the imagination of the Indians and they decided to send to the Lady of Chartres some evidence of their piety. In making their offering, they selected the thing which was most precious among them, the wampum beads which they used as money. They made the belt as above described in 1676. Father Bouvart wrote in the Huron language the vow of the savages to the Lady of Chartres; then he translated it into French and sent this along with the belt to the Chapter of Chartres where it was received in 1678.

Their vow, which follows, is interesting in showing the influence of the missionary teaching upon the imagination of the natives.

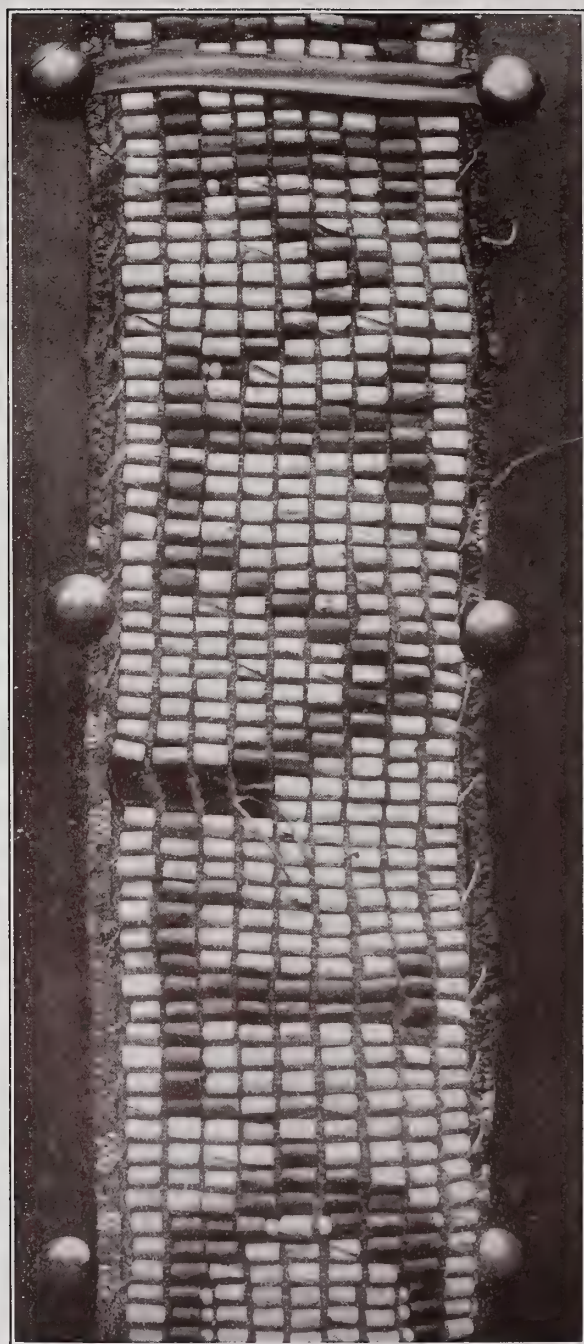
PRAYER OF THE HURONS OF LORETTE IN NEW FRANCE TO OUR LADY OF CHARTRES

Blessed Virgin, what joy we feel that, even before our birth, the town of Chartres built for you a church with this inscription: 'To the Virgin who shall bring forth a son.' Oh, how happy are the Gentlemen of Chartres, and how great are their merits for being your first servants! Alas! incomparable mother of God, it is quite the opposite with us poor Hurons; we have the misfortune of having

been the last to know and honor you. But can we not, at least, now repair our fault by making up, in some manner, for all the time in which we have not worshiped you? This is, Blessed Virgin, what we are today doing, in connecting ourselves with the Gentlemen of Chartres, that we may have with them only one mind, one heart, and one mouth, to praise you, to love you, to serve you. We entreat them, then, to present to you in our name, and for us all, the services which they have ever rendered you. Yes, it will be they (for we shall hope that they will not refuse us), it will be they, who, in so far as it is possible, will discharge our obligations before you; while their fervor will make amends for our slackness, their knowledge for our ignorance, their riches for our poverty. Furthermore, Virgin mother of God, although you have already brought forth your son, that will not prevent us from following the example of the Gentlemen of Chartres, in honoring you, even now, under the title of 'the Virgin who shall bring forth a son,' since it depends only upon you, in remaining always a virgin, to have us for your children. As we honor you here in a chapel like the house in which you have given to God a human life, we hope that you will in it give us spiritual life. Thus it will be that, being always a virgin, you will be also a mother—one who not only has given birth, or is giving birth, but who will always give birth until Jesus is perfectly formed in us all. It is this that we ask in presenting you this collar, as a sign that we are bound to you as your slaves.

The Chapter of Chartres was so well pleased with the prayer and the gift of the Hurons that they decided to send them a present that would perpetuate among them the memory of their consecration to the Lady of Chartres. So, three years later, in order to foster the zeal of these good and faithful savages, the Chapter sent to them a large silver shirt filled with relics. On the front of the shirt, they engraved a Virgin holding her Son, inside a forest cave just as the old Druids did according to the tradition of Chartres.

Four years before Champlain arrived on the banks of the St. Lawrence, the French had landed in Acadie to the south where they were favorably received by the Abnaquis Indians. The Abnaquis formed an early attachment for the French chiefly through the influence of these missionaries and carried on an almost constant war with the English until the fall of the French power in America. As the whites encroached on them, the Abnaquis gradually with-



Huron Wampum Belt.

FIG. 21.

drew to Canada and settled chiefly at Becancour and Sillery. The descendants of those who migrated from Maine together with the remnants of other New England tribes are now in Saint Francis and Becancour where they number some three or four hundred. Some of these Abnaquis Christians were present at Lorette in 1680 when the relic sent by the Chapter of Chartres to the Hurons was received. They came home and told their people about the magnificent present that their neighbors had received from the eastern Fathers. They also began to talk about the miracles of the Lady of Chartres and decided that they too should consecrate themselves to the Virgin of Chartres and asked the Chapter of the city to join with them in a common League of Prayer; so, in 1691, the Chapter received a box which enclosed the vow of the Abnaquis to the Virgin of Chartres. In turn, the Chapter decided to send to them also, as to the Hurons, a small silver shirt full of relics.

In 1699, Father Vincente Bigot proposed to the Abnaquis Indians that they send a letter to the Chapter of Chartres with a present for the Virgin. The savages approved the idea and on January 27, 1700, the Chapter received a box containing a letter from Father Bigot and a letter from the Abnaquis thanking the Chapter for their former present, and a belt of wampum composed of eleven thousand beads equal to the number of members of the Abnaquis tribe. The Chapter in recognition of this gift, asked the trustees of the Cathedral to have a silver figure of the holy Virgin made, two marks in weight, on the model of the statue in the crypt, to be sent as a present to the Abnaquis Church. The statue according to the contract made with the goldsmith in Paris was to stand nine inches high and to weigh nine marks. In 1703 a letter was received by the Chapter acknowledging the receipt of the present by the Abnaquis.

It would seem from the letters from the missionaries as published in the Jesuit Relations 1654-1656 that the Indians were very early encouraged to make gifts of wampum on Sundays to the Virgin. "Each one giving a porcelain* bead for each rosary

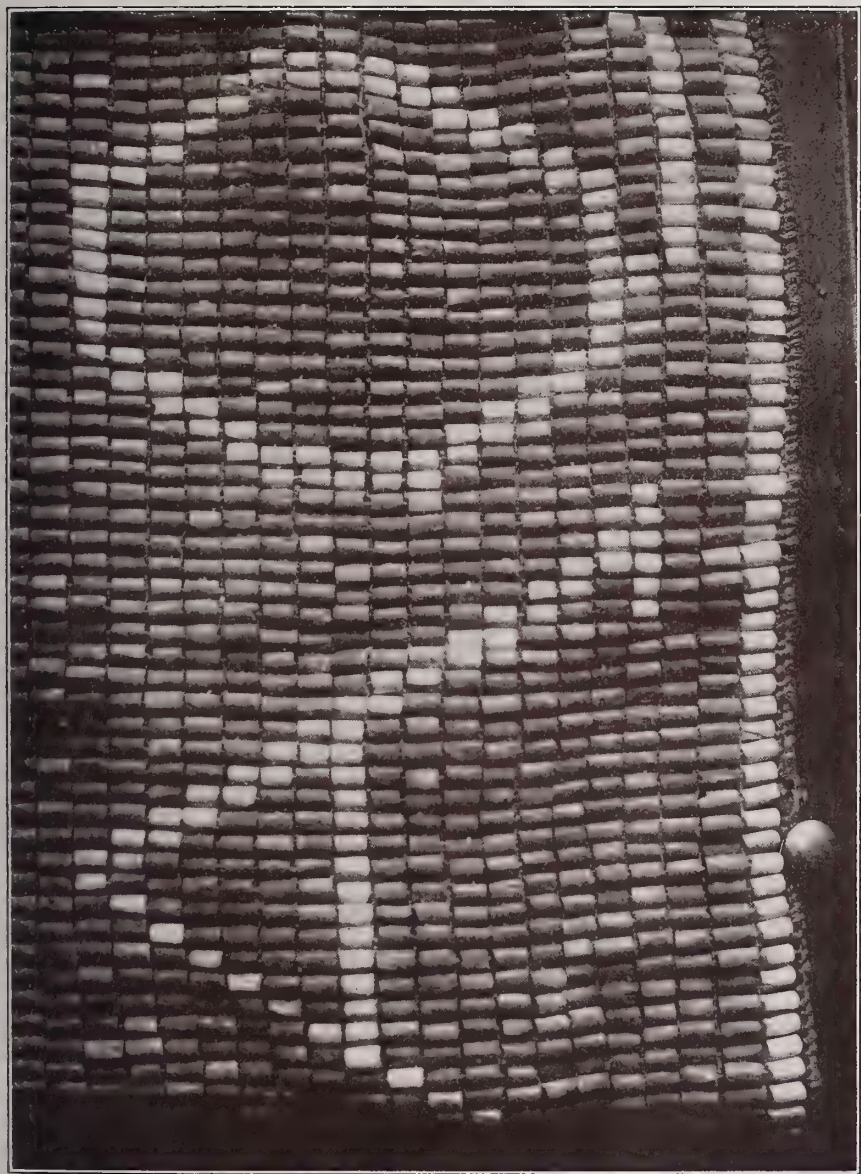
* Porcelain is the word used repeatedly by the priests in their communications about and references to the beads composing the wampum belts. It shows that the fathers could have had but little interest in the native arts and industries and customs of the Indians. The beads are the native wampum or shell money made in two colours from the shell of the fresh water clam and the chief interest of the two belts is that they are the earliest of which we have an authentic account and a fixed date. Moreover, we know their history continuously from the time they were made until today.—EDITOR.

recited during the week. The number of these beads runs sometimes as high as seven or eight hundred. And their devotion has prompted them to make collars of these in the style of embroidery in which by interweaving beads of violet and white porcelain, they write what they wish to say in honor of the Virgin. They have formed a kind of public treasury which they use in helping the poor. We aid them in increasing this little treasury by adding the offerings of charity from the members of the Congregation of the Professed House at Paris.

"These good Huron members of the Church meeting together a short time ago to give thanks in their own peculiar manner, resolved to send to the Congregation of Our Lady of the Professed House of the Society of Jesus at Paris from the Huron Christians of the Congregation of Saint Mary on the Island of Orleans near Quebec, a collar on which are written in black beads upon a white background, the words 'AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA,' and they begged me to accompany this devout offering of theirs with a letter which I wrote in their name upon birchbark, our substitute for paper, the translation of which is as follows: 'Receive, O Lady of Heaven, this present offered to you by the chosen ones of your Huron servants. It is a collar full of hidden meaning. It is composed of our finest pearls. It is inspired and enriched by the utterances and the greetings given you of old by the angel Gabriel. We have nothing more precious in our hands and nothing holier in our hearts for presenting to you and for gaining us the kingdom of heaven through your mediation.'"

This would seem to be the first act of presentation of a wampum belt to the societies at home but the later history of this belt is unknown.

It seems to have been the custom to take up collections of wampum beads at the Sunday services and to decorate the cross with belts made of red porcupine quills as offerings to the Virgin. On Good Friday 1767, a plate was placed near the crucifix in Saint Mary's and more than four thousand beads were collected as an offering to the Virgin. Many of these, along with others from the collections, were made up into belts and collars and used to decorate the beams of the Chapel. In 1677, the Mission at Lorette sent to the Sault Mission a collar or belt to encourage them in their faith and this belt was attached to one of the beams of the Chapel.



Section of the Abnaquis Belt.

FIG. 22.

NOTE 1. Father Jacques Bigot came to Canada in 1679 and in 1681 was sent to the Mission of Sillery and for more than twenty-five years, he labored among the missions of Canada. His brother, Vincente Bigot, came out to Canada to assist him at Sillery in 1680.

NOTE 2. Father Joseph Marie Chaumonot arrived in Canada after three months rough voyage on the first of August 1639, going immediately to the Hurons where he spent the rest of his life of more than forty years among the missions.

NOTE 3. The ancient relics possessed by the Church at Chartres before the Revolution were placed in three different parts of the choir, on both sides and behind the main altar. This was called the Treasury. The holy shrine was placed at the farther end while above it and close to the ceiling was placed the Huron and Abnauquis belts. These two belts fortunately escaped the hands of the vandals at the time of the Revolution and still remain as a part of the Treasury.

W. C. F.

LAND OTTER-MAN

THE title of this article is not that of a myth, but a name of a war canoe. The canoe which bore this symbolic name was never used in battle, but its name was an outcome of afterwit, the thought which comes to a warrior after fierce warfare.

The canoe no longer exists but the figurehead rests in the University Museum and was obtained by me in the year 1918 at Sitka in Alaska when I was working for the Museum among the people of my own tribe. It is dark with age and like other objects inherited from the past has its origin preserved in oral tradition.

The effigy is carved from one piece red cedar wood, measuring about thirty eight inches in length. Its eyes are inlaid with the blue abalone shell; and on the head are fastened locks of human hair. Whether this hair had been that of a slain enemy or that of a slave is not known. If it had been that of the former the account of its taking, and the reason for its use, on such occasion as the one for which the canoe head was made, would never have been made known, because such account, and reason would have only tended to renew the feeling of enmity. It was possible, however, that most warriors would have assumed much pride in ownership of an object bearing such ornamentation as had been acquired through a great danger, but if such had been in the case stated, the idea must have been strictly personal.

The carving is by no means artistic or beautiful. To some of the visitors to the University Museum, where it has now taken its final place, it may appear hideous, but even among the women folks and some children at its own native home, it had often excited an unpleasant feeling. But it is a representation of a man's position in war, and never intended to serve any other purpose. In truth, there is nothing relating to war which can be very pleasing or beautiful, except, perhaps, a picturesque battle viewed from a safe distance. Therefore, only a man of war in whose way had wandered a remnant of good fortune which enabled him to escape a great danger, can recognize in this old piece of carving one of the characters which appeared in the lasting nightmare of his experiences in war.

The geographical divisions of the Tlingit tribe appear to have created more rivalry than the social divisions in warfare and feeling

would often incite the wrath of a man of one locality enough to take arms against his own kin of another. This led to war between the two leading clans of the same nation, a war that is still recalled in stories handed down. One of these clans resided at Chilkat and the other at Sitka.

After that great war which for a time convulsed the two clans, the strain became relaxed in Chilkat and in Sitka; conditions were unlike what they had been during the grim years that had passed, and once more a common man, like a marmot after severe winter



Figurehead of the Ancient War Canoe, Land Otter-Man.

FIG. 23.

weather went about in calmness, for danger from a rival was no longer imminent, and only peace was in view.

With them now remained the task of adjusting mutual obligations; negotiations were in progress and in both parties were led about men who had been given as hostages. Meanwhile, the bereaved consoled themselves for their great losses, each with an assumed feeling of pride for sacrifice in a great cause. For nearly thirty years the progress of life in general had been halted and compelled to remain at a standstill by the war, but now the rebuild-

ing of family houses, and erecting of the customary memorials were resumed.

Amid the Klooknah-adi peace negotiations there came a courier from Chilkat to Sitka, conveying an invitation from the Kaguan-tan clan of the Shungoo-kaedi nation, to participate in the dedication of the Killer whale House, in Kluckwan. They were to be opposite guests to the Ganah-taedi, their rival at war. This invitation came in at an appropriate time. It offered a good chance of meeting long missed relatives and there was also a natural desire in a warrior to satisfy his personal curiosity of seeing in a good humor his erstwhile furious opponent. Hence, the invitation received a unanimous acceptance, and an envoy was immediately dispatched to Chilkat with a request to postpone the completion of the peace making. As soon as the Ganah-taedi acceptance reached Sitka, preparation for the great festival was put forward.

At the first council, an elder had recited some legends and precedents relating to the choice of a name for the party, and other important matter that had to be adjusted. Amid other suggestions which were offered, one of the leading men spoke up thus:

"It has been said that priority, other things being equal, should govern in naming the important divisions of our party. The names bestowed by our predecessors, we know, have the merit of priority and are characteristic of their time. I have asked myself, why should we, in our time not be justified in handing down a memorial of our own achievements in a similar manner. The parts which some of you have played in our affairs are the things which our successors will look to as we now look to those which have been acquired before our time.

"We are now about to appear before the public, each household adorned with things which it has inherited. But what have we created in behalf of those who will succeed us? This, I say, is the time to add some acquirements, if there are any, to those which constitute our pride.

"There is one thing I have in mind, and it is this: There are names of our canoes, the names bestowed by men of the past, and we are now about to put these to use. We cannot walk to Chilkat, therefore canoes, being the most important means of our formal appearance there, must each bear a name. The number of established names is not equal to the number of important persons among us. There sits Jinsatiyi who now approaches the age where he

must have recognition. And what is the name of his canoe? Surely, we will not allow him to go with only a bailer in hand, in someone else's canoe."

When the speaker resumed his seat all young heads were lowered, not as a sign of disapproval to the motion at hand, but the presence of the modest man in question must not be embarrassed. The silence which followed the motion was finally broken by the voice of another leading elder, who spoke up thus:

"It is good that these things are not overlooked, for our appearance in Chilkat will prove a critical moment, because we have not appeared there in a long while and the eyes of the public will therefore center upon our party, and because we have proved such a worthy rival at war for the noble men who formed our opposite party will only add more to the criticism of our general appearance in that ancient town.

"It is indeed proper that Jinsatiyi should appear in a canoe bearing a name which will symbolize his position in life. At this moment we are not lacking the things which could be applied. We will suggest this thing, and we will suggest that, but let me make my suggestion first.

"When I hear about his feats, in some of our battles on water, I often in my thoughts likened Jinsatiyi to a land otter. When the jaws of death were about to close on him, there seemed to be always a mysterious power at hand to snatch him from those jaws. Therefore I say Land Otter-man. How does this sound to your ears? I say this name is fitting because it will symbolize boldness and dexterity and because the Land Otter House inmates are the paternal grandfathers of him who would be master of that canoe."

The suggestion received unanimous favor, and a figurehead for the new canoe was ordered to symbolize the chosen name.

The excitement attending the arrival of the Sheetika-quan (Sitka-people) at Kluckwan was at its height. On the bank of the river, in front of the town, sat a group of old men and as the canoes, one by one, were piloted upstream they spoke to each other.

"This is the Sealion Canoe, the master is surely Jisniya who inherits the canoe name; and this next one,—it is the Frog Canoe of the Kiks-adi clan; and here is the Coho Canoe of the Khatka-ayi clan. Indeed, their emblems are well represented. But what might be this fourth one, bearing the undistinguishable figure? Can someone tell us what does this unfamiliar object represent?"

THE MUSEUM JOURNAL

"It is Jinsatiyi's canoe, the Land Otter-man."

"Then it is well named, for the feats of that warrior resemble those of that animal upon the water."

Thus, the first success of the name was that its symbolic effigy was immediately seized upon and the foundation for its fame in later generations was firmly laid.

L. S.

FIVE ROYAL SEAL CYLINDERS

I

THE OLDEST DATED ROYAL SEAL. THE SEAL OF BASHA-ENZU, B. C. 2900.

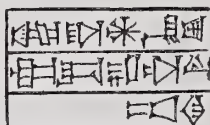
ART and history are interested in this small monument that has lain unconspicuous in the Collections of the Museum for over 30 years. It is a limestone cylinder seal, 29 x 16^{mm.}, that was bought by Dr. Haynes at Baghdad on Dec. 23, 1890. It has three figures and three lines of inscription engraved, and very likely is the oldest dated royal seal known. Its owner was Basha-Enzu, probably the first king of the IVth Kish dynasty, about B. C. 2990. Accordingly it antedates by four centuries the famous buffalo seal of King Sargani of Akkad, and fixes back toward the third millennium B. C. a standard of art known formerly as the Gudea style. Its proper name and location should be the style of the School of Ur, as Ménant would have it. All of which is of consequence for a closer study of the Moon God's figure and of the rites of his worshipping at Ur.



Seal and impression. C. B. S. 5005.

FIG. 24.

The inscription in the Akkadian language reads as follows:



Bá-ša^d En-zu
Ikka^r da-ra-ta Ur^{ki}

Basha-Enzu
the neverfailing husbandman of Ur.

This title: Ikkar darata, is new. That it does really apply to a king reigning in another city, but whose dominion extended over Ur, will be proved by a comparison with the titles of the kings of Isin and Larsa. In this case it does apply to the only known king of that name Basha-Enzu, who according to a local tradition of Kish was the son of Azag-Bau, a woman wine merchant, undoubtedly a strong character, claimed to be the founder of the IVth Kish dynasty, and who died probably over hundred years old. Her son Bashu-Enzu reigned 25 years in Kish.

Why his title of king, lugal, of Kish is not recorded on his seal is not clear. We can only surmise that either he did not dare use the title of king, as regent of Ur, or more likely that his mother Azag-Bau being effectively ruler of Kish, he was associate coregent at Ur. This is not without parallel in history. When Gimil-Sin later on was king of Ur and of the four parts of the world, at the same time the city of Ur was under the control of a certain Lugal magurri with the title of patesi. And the very last Babylonian king Bêl-shar-uşur was coregent with his father Nabu-na'id, according to the famous inscription discovered precisely at Ur. We should not be far from truth in supposing that the seal of Basha-Enzu was discovered in the ruins of Muqajjar.

Ikkaru, the husbandman, is just the counterpart of rê'u, (sib), the pastor, both used as titles for regent of cities. In connection with the names of cities enumerated as being under their dominion, the kings used various titles which are worth while considering. Royalty, nam-lugal, and pastorate, nam sib, are general terms that apply to the whole world, or to the four parts of the universe known to them. The great God of Nippur, Enlil, the lord of all lands, was trusted with the power to confer such a title. No real king, unless he was recognized as such at the central shrine of Nippur. Opposite to the title of king as a power over many cities, the title of patesi, was limited to one city. It carried along with it a religious meaning. The patesi was a prince, trustee of the god and head of the city that developed round a local shrine. No king would claim being a patesi, but he would have many patesis at the head of various cities of his empire. The next step was to make of them regular officials appointed once a year, while the king kept for himself the rôle of religious protector of the famous shrines of important cities. One king, Lugal kigub-nidudu states expressly that he united into his hand religious, nam-en, and political power, nam-lugal-da.

The high water mark of that tendency was to call and worship the king as a god. Naram-Sin was called the God of Akkad. Divination was a regular process under the kings of the III Ur dynasty. We may remember it in time when we have to decide whether the figure of the king or that of the Moon God is represented on their seal cylinders.

The various titles of protectors of cities are not used indiscriminately. They are either of civil or of more purely religious import. Civil titles are pastor: *sib*, *nakid*; caretaker: *úa*; supporter: *saguš*; husbandman: *engar*. Purely religious titles are connected with priest, diviner, interpreter: *en*, *me*, *išib*, *ninni-nutum*, *sag-li-tar*. The kings of Isin were usually pastors of Nippur and Ur, and priests at Eridu and Uruk. Two of them instead of pastors of Ur, use precisely the same title of husbandman, *engar*, as Basha Enzu. They are Kings Bur-Sin and Libit-Ishtar of Isin, the strong or faithful husbandmen of Ur. The same title again is claimed by Nur-Immer and Rim-Sin of the Larsa dynasty.

Neverfailing or everlasting husbandman: *ikkar darata*, is an old uncommon Akkadian form. Expressions like: my eternal lordship, *belutija darāti*; everlasting days, *ûmê darati*, are known. But the form, *darata*, is isolated, and not found outside of the proper name *Darata-a-a*. A rare name, ^d*Dungi-sib-dari*, Dungi the eternal pastor is anyhow built in the same manner.

Before describing the scene engraved in the classical style of the School of Ur, we may remember that all the kings of Isin, pastors or husbandmen of Ur, were by special favor and in a mystic way: beloved husband of the Goddess Ninni, the Ishtar of Uruk—*dam kiag* ^d*Ninni*. The wife of the Moon God worshiped along with him in the temple of Ur, was Ningal, the great lady mother of Ur. But Ninni-Ishtar was his daughter. Under the name of *Nin-insina*, she was like her mother called the great lady, mother of the land, *ningal*, *amakalama*. Hammurabi traces his royal descent to the Moon God, he has a special care for the city of Ur, and is a great favourite with his famous daughter Ishtar.

The most natural and frequent design of the School of Ur represents the approach of one or more worshiper to a seated god. The scene has been neatly summed up with its details by W. H. Ward. The seated god is a dignified figure in a long garment, usually flounced, with a horned turban, either two horned or many horned (braided), and with a long beard and one hand lifted, per-

haps holding a vase or a rod and a ring. In the oldest form a naked worshiper carries a goat as offering, while a female servant, clothed in a long shawl, follows with a pail. In the simplest form a single worshiper stands before the god, with or without a goat. More usually there are 2 or 3 or 4 approaching figures. Frequently the worshiper is led to the god by the hand held by a female figure. Both of them are holding their free hand up in token of worship. They may be followed by another female figure holding up both hands in the same attitude of worship, or perhaps by a servant often nude carrying a pail or basket for an offering.

The worshiper is usually shaven and beardless, and wears a fringed shawl. The standing and leading female figures are clothed in a flounced garment, or a simpler plaited robe. Their headdress is the high pointed horned turban or crown worn by the gods. And so they are in fact. The seated god always wears the rich flounced garment. He is never shaven. His horned headdress is replaced in the Gudea period by a plain and low turban worn by the kings. His long beard is hanging on his breast.

A crescent of the flat style as an emblem on the field, is more frequent in the early art. Later the crescent is nearer a half circle.

On the most remarkable cylinders of this style, the seal cylinder of the Ur-Engur the founder of the III Ur dynasty, the god's seat shows special features in the shape of ox's legs and a back which are unusual but not unique.

The new cylinder affords us a more complete survey of the style of Ur and its evolution for over six centuries. We will study in details: garments, thrones, headdresses, crescents, bulls, gods and goddesses, represented on the cylinder seals of Ur, and try to reach some conclusions as to the meaning of changes occurring in time.

Garments. There was a regular scale of garment from the richest royal cloth down to the simplest loin cloth. The richest woolen cloth, the kaunakes of the Greek tradition, was used for flounced robes, as worn by the more important and seated god. The goddess leading the worshiper may be clothed in the same rich material. Which would lead us to suspect that she is the wife of the god, or a special high ranking protector of the worshiper. Gudea was led by his private god Ningiſ-zida. The next sort of cloth serves to make the long plaited robes of attendant goddesses. The worshiper usually wears a long plain fringed shawl, opening in front,

or rather thrown over his first garment or shirt reaching to the knee, and held round the waist by a belt. The servant, if not nude, would wear a short loin cloth. So runs the scale of dignitaries as expressed by garments.

Thrones. More than ten years ago we pointed out that a special throne with four legs, no back, and covered with three rows of woolen kaunakes, is a marked feature of the Ur style, first found under King Dungi of the III Ur dynasty, and which disappears with the ruins of the same dynasty. Ur-Engur the head of the same dynasty still retained a throne with ox's legs and a back, on his seal. The goddess on the seal of Basha-Enzu is seated on an old fashion cubic throne showing three legs on one side.

Headdresses. The classical headdress of the gods—when not bare headed or wearing a feather crown as on the most archaic seals or reliefs—is the high horned turban. The plain flat turban of Gudea is a human headdress. On the head of the gods it is a sort of breaking off the tradition. In connection with the new style of throne mentioned above, and adopted at the same time, it can be explained only by the actual worship of the king of Ur as a god, and his identification with the Moon God. Where the seated figure, instead of the bearded Moon God, shows an entirely shaven and shorn man, we did not hesitate to see in it a portrait of King Ibi Sin—C. B. S. 12570. The same low turban was kept later on for the figures of Martu the National Amurru God.

Crescents. Early flat crescents are undergoing a change to a semicircular form, at the same time as flat turban and kaunakes covered thrones appear on the seals. The crescent is the proper emblem of the Moon God, the very picture of the new moon. It is so much like the horn of a bull, that the God himself is called the brilliant young bull of heaven.

Bulls. Seal cylinders with a bull passing or jumping into the lap of the god, are very rare, and early. In a few examples the god will sit with a bull crouching under his feet, another above his hand, a third behind him. Or perhaps a crouching or passing bull will fill the field under a short inscription. Such a bull is doubtless intended as a symbol of the Moon God. It is very different of the wild bull led through a ring in the nose by the thunder god Adad, and often, almost regularly in connection with the lightning fork. The Moon God bull, is not the roaring bull of storm, but the crouching animal enclosed in the park. At evening, when the gates of

night are opened it will get up and wander through the pastures of heaven. In very old and rare cylinder seals we find a bull crouching in front of a winged gate. Gilgamesh with one knee down holds very tight, the cord keeping the door closed. In front of this symbolic group is seated not a god but a goddess.

Gods and Goddess. The seal of Basha-Enzu, a devotee and servant of the Moon God according to his name, has a figure not of the god with the long lapis-lazuli beard, but of a goddess, clothed with the woolen kaunakes and wearing the horned headdress. In front of her is a passing bull. The scene is in the best Ur style, and savours of the rites of the Moon God. She may be a figure of Ningal, the great lady mother of Ur, or perhaps of Ninni-Ishtar daughter of the Moon God. The difficulty in deciding this point, comes from the fact that the symbols—and the animal figures—are more important, and preceded in the course of times the human figurations of various gods. The seated god is always the same dignified figure in a long flounced garment and may represent according to cases either the Sun God Shamash, or the Moon God Sin, or the God Ningirsu of Lagash.

The fact of being enthroned is important and apply chiefly to the main gods patrons of great cities. On seals of King Dungi of the III Ur Dynasty, the fire god Nusku, the god of pestilence Meslamtaè, are represented as standing with various emblems. But they were secondary gods attached to the court of a main deity. The throne is precisely the symbol of the god, head and king of a big court or shrine.

We realize by the scene engraved on the present seal that such a system of constituted priesthood round a main shrine was well developed as early as 3000 B. C. But they could never supersede the old traditional identification with so many animal forms, preserved later as symbols of the gods.

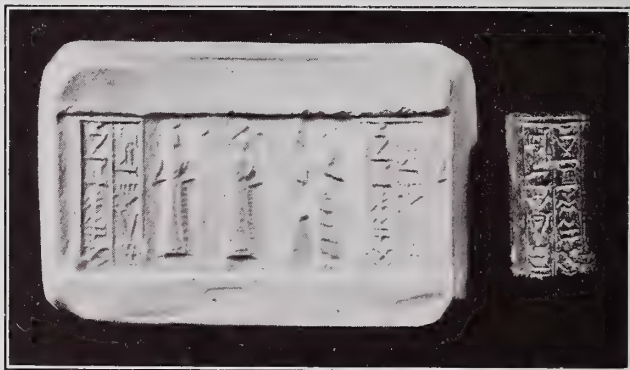
Another consequence of this study is that all cylinders with figures dressed with the early Sumerian petticoat, or showing any preference for animal fights or hunting scenes, or mythological scenes, have to be placed in scale of time before 3000 B. C.

II

TWO ROYAL SEAL CYLINDERS OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON,
SUMUABUM AND ZABUM, B.C. 2050-1996

Outside the relief on the Code Stela and some seal impressions and reliefs of the time of Hammurabi, the first Dynasty of Babylon has left us, so far, few monuments. Two seals of that Dynasty in the Museum collection are interesting as belonging to earlier kings, even to the time when the Dynasty was first founded. They supply a new standard of the art of engraving then prevailing, and confirm what we knew about the history of the land, when Babylon was a new capital, for a new race, the Western Semites, the Amorites.

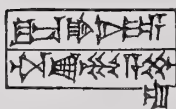
One is a seal cylinder cut in very dark green serpentine, $20\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ mm. It was bought by Drs. Peters and Harper in Baghdad, on January, 1889.



Seal and impression. C. B. S. 1111.

FIG. 25.

The inscription reads



Da-ga-ni-ia
Warad Su-mu-a-bu-um

Dagania
Servant of Sumuabum.

Sumuabu was the founder of the first Babylonian Dynasty and reigned 15 years.

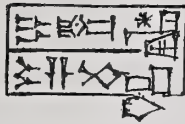
The other is a seal cylinder carelessly cut in a reddish limestone, 20 x 16^{mm}. It was bought, probably in 1891, by Dr. Peters at Shatra, and was supposed to come from Tello.



Seal and impression. C. B. S. 8978.

FIG. 26.

The inscription reads



I-bi ^{il} Sin
mār Za-bu-um šarru

Ibi-Sin
son of King Zabum.

Zabum was the third king of the same dynasty and reigned 14 years.

The scene engraved on the seal of Daganian represents the worshipping of a god. It is a classical scene of the old Sumero-Akkadian school, but with features of its own, betraying the new Amorite spirit prevailing in the land.

The god is standing up, holding the forked thunderbolt, his bare leg, issuing from the long flounced garment, and resting on a low stool, or a conventional form of hills in shape of two curved horns. In his left hand he carries a crooked stick or scimitar. He wears the horned divine headdress. His hair is long and looped. His beard is not very clearly designed. This is a figure of Adad-Ramman, the Amorite god of thunder, in the rôle and attitude usually reserved to the Sun god Shamash, rising, notched weapon in hand, over the eastern mountain. The engraver trained in the old school, only changed the weapon in the hand of that most familiar figure. When

Adad is more completely represented according to Amorite ideal, he is a short skirted warrior, standing on a bull, one hand holding the thunderbolt the other brandishing his hammer, axe, or scimitar over his head, while in many cases he is leading the bull through a cord attached in the nose.

The worshiper stands in front of the god, one hand held up in front of his face, expressing adoration, the other hand keeping closed his long fringed garment. His head is covered with a plain flat turban, like the one of King Hammurabi, whose attitude he resembles closely. A second worshiper, perhaps a servant, dressed in the same way, follows in the rear, with hands modestly clasped.

Flounced garments and horned headdresses are usually reserved to gods, while men wear plain low turbans and fringed shawls. At the time of the III Ur Dynasty, the kings worshiped as gods are represented on their seals as wearing turbans and fringed shawls. In the same manner, when the Amorite influence was prevalent, the engraver would easily represent their national god Martu, as a short skirted warrior, wearing the turban, and holding his club. It is remarkable that this new Martu style appears mainly on seal cylinders of hematite, or natural iron ore, as if the discovery of iron could ever account for the supremacy of the Amorites.

On the seal of Dagania, the western god Adad, is still dressed in the old Sumero-Akkadian style. The city of Babylon was just recently made a capital by the Amorite chieftain Sumuabum. Dagania which means O my god Dagan is an invocation to another western god Dagon. Two kings of Isin before had invoked the same deity: Ishme-Dagan, and Idin-Dagan. But the times were not yet ripe when the kings of Babylon would rule the whole land of Sumer and Akkad, and secure the triumph of their own western god Marduk. The list of years of King Sumuabum shows that he was a devoted servant and probably a vassal of the Sumerian god of Ur. It was reserved to his successors to destroy in turn the kingdoms of Isin in the north, and Larsa in the south, and to found the supremacy of Babylon.

Anyhow so far as art, civilisation, even religion are concerned that supremacy means not the beginning, but the end of the brilliant and genuine Sumero Akkadian culture. The famous code is no exception, being the summing up of all standards, rules and customs enforced by tradition. The Amorites adopted the older and superior civilisation. Their own contribution is of a rather poor quality, as

shown by their style of engraving and writing. Syncretism is their most conspicuous characteristic. Copying and compiling hymns, prayers, legends, myths, in honor of Marduk and Nebo, was the great affair in the temples of Babylon and Borsippa. But the creative power is gone.

The Amorites fixed in the land for centuries at the time of the old Sargon, were soldiers, businessmen, farmers, but altogether a low class. Only by degrees they gained the overhand. Their gods Martu, ištar, irra, were usually written without the divine prefix, the star. They had to learn to play their part in the attire of the old Sumero-Akkadian gods. In many cases they were ungainly enough and the engraver did not know to what extent to break with the old tradition to satisfy his new customers.

The kingdom of Sumuabum did not include more than a few cities Babylon, Kish, Dilbat, Sippar. Sumulailu his successor was considered as the real effective founder of the Dynasty. During 36 years he was most active cutting and repairing canals, walls of cities, temples. He captured and ruined the cities of Kish and Kazallu, built six fortresses on the borders, and began a codification of laws.

Constructions and restorations were carried on by his son and grand son: Zabum and Apil-Sin. Our second seal, a very poor example of the art of engraving belongs to a certain Ibi-Sin son of King Zabum, and probably a brother of the crown prince Apil-Sin. They can scarcely be identified. The word for son: aplu in the Semitic language, is the translation of a Sumerian word ibila (written dumu-uš). Ibi or Ibil is perhaps the Sumero-Akkadian for the Amorite apil. This minor problem of philology may have some historical consequence.

The scene of adoration engraved on the seal, is very conventional, a standing goddess in a flounced garment, and wearing the horned headdress, extends one hand of welcome toward the worshiper. There is a crescent in the field, as it well suits a devotee of the Moon God Sin, and a scorpion which may help to identify the goddess, with a western Ishtar or Ishhara.

III

THE OLDEST CASSITE ROYAL SEAL
And the Cassite War God *Shugamuna*

The oldest Cassite royal seal cylinder so far known, bearing the earliest contemporary record of the Cassite Wargod Shugamuna and very likely a unique representation of the same, was entered in the collections of the Museum—C. B. S. No. 1108—on May 30, 1895. This minor monument, inscribed with the name of king Karaindash's son, about B. C. 1450, is highly interesting for history, art and archæology.¹



Seal and impression. C. B. S. 1108.

FIG. 27.

The inscription in the Sumerian language reads as follows:

𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣
𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣
𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣
𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣
𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣
𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣
𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣𒂗𒄣

d Šu-ga-mu-na	God Shugamuna
umun pa-è	brilliant lord
ḥa-zu-ta ḥe-nir	with thy support may he come forth
aš me-zuḥu-sig	through thy decree may he prosper
Iz-gur ¹¹ Marduk	Izgur-Marduk
dumu Ka-ra-in-da-[aš]	son of Karaindash
išib ni-tuk-zu	the libator revering thee

¹ Published by H. A. Ward Seal Cylinders of W. Asia, No. 473, with a wrong quotation C. B. S. as 1118, and a poor commentary.

This cylinder is cut in a brown agate, $34\frac{1}{2}^{\text{mm}}$ x 15^{mm} . The place of its discovery is unknown. It was bought together with 16 others from different persons in Baghdad, but chiefly through the dealer Khabaza, and therefore included in Kh² collection. It is engraved with 7 lines of inscription, and 14 figures distributed in 2 registers and 5 groups very much alike representing the war god with worshiper and intermediary goddess.

To the present day only four Cassite so-called royal seal cylinders have been known, and held up as a standard of the Cassite style of engraving. They are all about one century younger than this seal, being inscribed with the names of kings Kurigalzu and Burnaburiash. The last one, a seal cylinder in white chalcedony that belongs to the Metropolitan Museum of New York, No. 391—the only one in this country—was published as early as 1896 in the first volume of the Babylonian Expedition. Moreover three of these seal cylinders out of four bear the names of servants or high officials of the kings. Only one preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, No. 296 can compare with the one in the University Museum as being inscribed with the name of a son of the king: Shirishti the governor (šakkanakku), son of Kurigalzu.

Izgur Marduk the son of Karaindash claims to be a libator of the god Shugamuna, a war god, a national protector of the Cassite people and dynasty. It is remarkable that his name anyhow is properly a Babylonian name meaning: "he has invoked Marduk." This fact of a purely Babylonian name, devised as a prayer to Marduk the great god of Babylon, and given to a royal Cassite prince, who by profession and on his own seal cylinder is acting as high priest of the Cassite national God Shugamuna, is better explained by comparing it with what we know of the history of the Cassite in the XVth Century B. C.

Karaindash is the first Cassite king of whom we have contemporary records. No remains have been excavated so far that antedate his time. His name was first found stamped on a brick, probably from Warka, where he restored the Temple of Ninni, Ishtar of Uruk. All later Babylonian Chronicles begin with him. They state how Karaindash king of the country of Karduniash (Babylon) passed a treaty with Ashur-rim-nishishu king of Assur. So did after him another Cassite king Burnaburiash pass a treaty with an Assyrian king named Puzur-Assur. In a famous Tel-Amarna letter, No. 10, the same Burraburiash writing to the Egyptian king Amen-

ophis IV, traces back the first relations between Egypt and Babylon to the time of his ancestor Karaindash. And we have to bear this in mind.

Indeed the history of the Cassite before Karaindash would be a perfect blank were it not for an inscription of King Agum II who reigned about two centuries before, and which has been preserved in a later Assyrian copy of Ashurbanipal library at Nineveh. Old king Agum calls himself the illustrious descendant of the God Shugamuna. Then he goes on to say that he is elected by Anu, Enlil, Ea, Marduk, Sin, Shamash, Ishtar, the Babylonian gods. He is first of all king of the Cassite; and subsequently of the lands of Akkad, Babylon, Ashnunak, Padan and Guti, a king of the world. Anyhow, all due respect paid to the Cassite God Shugamuna, the trend of the present inscription is toward the glorification of Marduk of Babylon and his wife Sarpanitum, whose statues have been just brought back from captivity at Hana a distant city on the river Euphrates, and settled magnificently in their newly restored shrine of Esagila in Babylon. A full and gorgeous description follows detailing the treasuries of gold, silver and precious stones lavished upon them, together with the endowments of fields and orchards attached to the temple.

The migration of the statues of Marduk and Sarpanitum to Hana, was the consequence of the plundering of the city by the Hittite tribes in the XVIII Century B. C. That invasion probably put an end to the first, or Amorite Dynasty of Babylon, so well illustrated by the great constructive works of King Hammurabi. A Babylonian Chronicle states that: Against Samsuditana and the land of Akkad, the Hatti moved on. Akkad is an older name for North Babylonia, Samsuditana is the last king on record belonging to the first Dynasty, and the Hatti are generally identified with the Hittite whose main capital was at Bogaz-koy in Asia Minor. After the sack of Babylon the plundering troops retired, and a portion of them settled down farther north on the banks of the Euphrates at Hana, the actual Tell ° Ishar, near Şalhije, south of the Chaboras river, where the statues of the Babylonian gods were detained over a century.

The control of Southern Babylonia, on the shore of the Persian Gulf was in the hands of a Sumerian Dynasty long before and after the Hittite invasion. It is the second Babylonian Dynasty of the royal lists, called after its geographical position the Dynasty of

the Country of the Sea. Babylon itself and the land round of it fell to the lot of the Cassite, who were going to rule the old Hammurabi empire for nearly six centuries, as the third Babylonian Dynasty.

But historical conditions were totally altered. The 18th Century B. C. was a time of great commotions and wandering of tribes and people. As the Hittite were moving from the West along the Euphrates, so were the Cassite coming down the high lands of Persia in the East across the Tigris. Whether the impulse was given to them by an invasion of their own land at the hands of Arian tribes from the Caspian and Aral regions, or whether they have any relation to the Hyksos invaders of Egypt is beyond the scope of the present article. Only one point is beyond question: The Cassite were neither Indogermans nor Semites, they bear no resemblance to the Elamites or the Sumerians. Assyrian scribes had compiled lists of Cassite words, with an Assyrian translation, as a means of understanding better their foreign and raucous names. As late as 703 B. C. King Sennacherib found the Cassite in the Zagros mountains near Ellip, the high valley of the Susa river. They were practically astride the main mountain pass leading from Babylon to Ecbatana by Behistun. In the days of Alexander the Great they could mobilize a body of 13,000 archers, and even the Persian kings used to pay a tribute to them as they crossed their lands on their way from Babylon to their summer residence at Ecbatana. Under the successors of Hammurabi they were probably foreign mercenary troops, and as the power escaped the weak hands of Samsuditana, Babylon fell to the share of the Cassite chieftain. The scarcity of historical and archaeological remains of the period that followed immediately, bears witness to the desolated condition of the land. It is not clear either that the Cassite rulers left at once their mountain residence to fix down in the ruined city of Babylon. They may have governed it at a distance through their prefects, as the Susian kings had done before, or the Persian kings after. But the recovery and attraction of the old Culture land was too rapid and strong, that they should resist it very long. The inscription of Agum II, with all its Cassite particularism, shows most evidently that Marduk was coming back in its own. Two centuries later the process is just the reverse. All reservations in favor of the Cassite people and god are gone. Kara-indash calls himself: the powerful king, the King of Babylon, the King of Sumer and Akkad, the King of the Cassite and of Kar-

duniash. Under his successors the title of king of the Cassite is omitted. And his son, the owner of the actual seal, bears a purely Babylonian name, which is an invocation to Marduk. In the same way Alexander was to forget his Greek virtue and energy amidst the splendours and luxuries of Babylon, the old unconquered meretrix.

This seems to lead to the natural conclusion that Karaindash was the first Cassite ruler to settle effectively down in Babylon, the first to develop official relations with Egypt, and with the neighbour growing power of Assyria, and probably other minor kings of Mitanni, and Hatti lands.

His relations with Assyria are of particular interest, as they were soon to oppose in sharp conflict the new Babylonian tendencies with the old conservative Cassite spirit still alive chiefly among the troops. By the same time the Babylonian Chronicles, our main source of information, make it dubious whether there were one or two Cassite kings named Karaindash. They state that: At the time of Ashur-Uballiṭ, king of Assyria, and Karaḥardash, king of Karduniash (Babylon), son of Muballiṭat-Sherua, a daughter of Ashur-uballiṭ, the Cassite revolted, killed Karaḥardash, and appointed a new ruler a son of Nobody. The Assyrian king to avenge Karaindash, went down with an army in Babylonia, killed the intruder, and established the young Kurigalzu as king of Babylon. Another Chronicle instead of Karaḥardash, mentions a certain Kadashman-Ḥarbe, as the son of Karaindash and Muballiṭat-Sherua, the daughter of the Assyrian king. Outside the difference of the names, the account of the murdering and avenging of the Cassite king by his grandfather, the king of Assyria, is the same as in the first Chronicle.

Our Izgur-Marduk is very likely not a brother of Karaḥardash or Kadashman-Ḥarbe, not a son of the younger Karaindash, but the son of the older Karaindash who passed a treaty with an older Assyrian king Ashur-rim-nishishu. Between the two Karaindash, a Cassite ruler of the name of Kadashman-Ḥarbe was the well-known correspondent of Amenophis III of the El-Amarna letters.

The Egyptian influence that manifested itself in Mesopotamia as a consequence of the conquests of Thutmes III of the XVIII Dynasty in Syria, has been traced back through the El-Amarna letters to the Cassite king Karaindash the first. Messengers used to go from one court to the other. But the effect of that influence

in art was felt only by degrees. The four Cassite royal cylinders known to the present day show a notable change in shape and size as compared with the seal cylinders of the Ist Babylonian Dynasty. They affect a long religious inscription of 7 or 8 lines, with often only a single figure in the attitude of worship accompanied by symbols. The space for figures being limited they admit at the most a god and a worshiper. Among the new emblems the most remarkable are the Greek Cross, and the losange.

Outside the shape, the quality of the agate stone in which it is cut, and the 7 lines of votive inscription upon it, the seal cylinder of Izkur-Marduk shows six groups of a scene devised in the best Babylonian style. In fact it is a compromise between the old and the new style, just as the Babylonian name of the prince is somewhat clashing with his functions of high priest libator of the Cassite national God Shugamuna. This is the best argument for attributing the seal to a son of the old Karaindash.

The inscription seems to have been the main inspiration contributed to the engraving of the seal. The monotonous repetition of the same scene of adoration, with its distribution in two registers and an unequal grouping of figures, is very awkward, and suggestive of filling up a blank between the lines. As it appears in its most replete form it represents the God standing up between and receiving the adoration of the worshiper and the intermediary Goddess, each one of them facing the God in turn according to the register. The same alternative prevails where the scene is reduced two figures.

Goddess and worshiper are dressed according to the most approved Babylonian style, the Goddess with the better flounced gown and high horned mitre, the worshiper with the simpler fringed shawl and round turban. Both have the same gesture of adoration expressed by the two hands raised to the level of their face.

The God who receives their adoration is an active god, as manifested by his attitude. He wears a short garment to the knees, over which is thrown a long shawl covering the left shoulder, and retained with the left hand. The right arm is left bare ready for action. And were it to represent the God Marduk the right hand would grasp the crooked scimitar, the particular weapon of that god. Most remarkably no one of the six figures of the god carries the scimitar. The left leg is protruding out of the shawl, as usual in the representations of an active god like Shamash or Adad the God of the rising sun, and the god of storm and thunder. The turban

of the present god is not like the mitre of the Goddess adorned with several pairs of horns, but at the utmost with one pair, just like the famous Nebo statue discovered at Nimrud, or even more exactly like the basalt head of a God of the Cassite period preserved in the Berlin Museum.

That somewhat conventional figure of a god belongs to a new series of reliefs introduced into the Babylonian art at the time of the Ist Dynasty of Babylon. Together with another short skirted figure with or without a mace, and the first appearance of the naked goddess, they betray Amorite or Western influence prevalent with the rise into power of the Amurru race under King Hammurabi. The God Martu, the national God of the Amurru people is never represented otherwise than as a short skirted hero with a round cap holding a mace or a crooked stick.

In the present case mace and stick have been significantly omitted, as was the scimitar too. That strange active god is neither Marduk, nor Martu. It does not require much effort to see in him an international figure of the Cassite National God Shugamuna.

The name of Shugamuna is found here for the first time inscribed on a seal cylinder as a direct invocation of that god. It is found so far on no other document of the kind. Names compounded with that sacred name like: Izkur Shugamuna, are found on clay tablets, and without being very frequent are met with on clay documents of that period, with half a dozen of Izkur-Marduk who are all but sons of Karaindash.

The owner of the present seal Izgur-Marduk—spelling his name with a g—is not only a prince son of Karaindash, but a libator—išippu—a priest of the God Shuhamuna. This is no common calling. Not only from the earliest dawn of history were Sumerian, Babylonian and later Assyrian kings anxious to perform with their own hands the ceremonies of the cult, and to pour down the libation, but in the full list of officials attached to the person of the God Ningirsu, according to the Gudea Cylinders, we realise that the first dignitaries of the heavenly court were the two sons of the king god: One Galalim was coregent, the second Dunshagga was a priest of purifications and libations. How much all this is consonant with the actual position of Izgur Marduk at the court of his father Karaindash.

On a kudurru, or boundary stone discovered at Susa and belonging to a later Cassite period among other emblems is seen the repre-

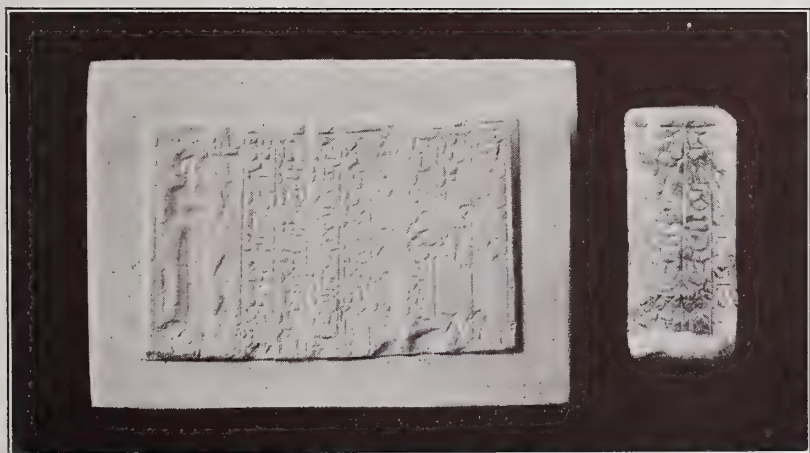
sensation of a weapon, a mace with a square head inscribed with the name of ^d[Shu-ga]-mu-na. The Cassite War God was identified in Babylon with Nergal an infernal god of death and pestilence, and Nusku a god of burning fire. His wife was Shumalia the Cassite Goddess, the lady of the shining snowclad mountains, dwelling on high, under whose steps fountains are springing. The goddess in high flounced gown is perhaps Shumalia. Both are called the protecting gods of the king and of his lands, gods of war, who stand for the sanctity of treaties, and will convict the lawbreaker before the king and his nobles, and pile on him calamities and disasters. Together with the Nergal those Cassite Gods took rank in the Babylonian ritual and were duly invoked in the ceremonies of purification.

The dated seal cylinder of their priest Izgur Marduk the son of King Karaindash is a good proof of their fame as national gods among their own people towards B. C. 1450, and supplies by the same time a new test for an estimate of Babylonian art in a period of restoration.

IV

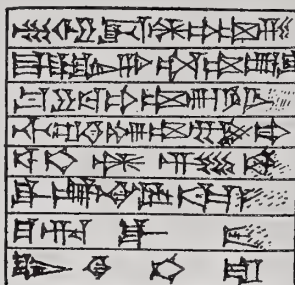
THE SEAL CYLINDER OF KING KURIGALZU, ABOUT B. C. 1390

The peculiar Cassite style of engraving is known thanks to four seal cylinders of sons or servants of kings Burnaburiash and Kurigalzu. But it is the Museum privilege to possess the very seal of this last king himself. It is cut in an impure brown carnelian chalcidony, 32 x 14^{mm}. The stone was bought by the Drs. Peters and Harper, at Baghdad, Janv. 1889.



Seal and impression. C. B. S. 1062.

The text, in the Sumerian language reads as follows:



mu-pad-da an-ta-ḥe-zid	may the name revealed, progress on high,
par-gal lugal-a-ni ta ḥe-nir šu	so that the net of his royalty might reach farther;
giš-šub-ba-bi ḥe-nun nig-tug ...	his lot is abundance, richness ..
til-la ki-sud ḥe-nam bi (?)	his life far renowned for its fullness;
ud-šar an-zi-üğ (?)	a plentitude of days heavenly bright
gal-ukkin-na mulu sag ...	for the great leader of men, the chief ...
Ku-ri-gal-zu	Kurigalzu
lugal ki-šar-ra.	king of the whole world.

The seal is reduced to a single standing worshiper, a conventional figure, perhaps intended for the king himself. He lifts one hand up in token of prayer or adoration. He wears a plain flat turban, a long beard, a straight fringed garment. The usual emblems are a cross inscribed within a cross, and two rhombs, perhaps intended for a symbol of sun and land, heaven and earth, the two twin universes.

L. L.

STORIES ON GREEK VASES

Notes of Some Vases in the University Museum.

ANY handbook on Greek vases, every general discussion of them, posits the statement that the vases are of the highest importance for their illustration of the myths of Greece, not only in the literary version handed down by the epic and dramatic poets, but also in variant local forms, which are traditional and perhaps more popular. The use of the word illustration here is unfortunate for the word is a bit ambiguous. In fact so eminent a critic as Karl Robert writing *Bild und Lied* definitely denied that Greek vase painting can be called illustration. Robert would have illustration beginning in Alexandrian art; and others would say that illustration is a relatively recent artistic development. Illustration in its broadest sense, however, is old as art itself. The painted reliefs in Egyptian tombs, the Madonnas of Christian iconography, the bulk of Indian painting and Chinese Buddhistic art, even the greater part of derived linear decorative patterns—all are basically illustration, even though we never think of them as such.

Illustration explains in terms of line and contour something which has been previously expressed in words. It therefore presupposes a text which offers to it an excuse for being; it is dependent upon it, and consummates its highest purpose only in connection with that text. Of course, illustration may permissibly and justifiably give æsthetic pleasure, but pleasure is not the sole reaction from any illustration pure and simple. Because of the overshadowing of the illustrative by the æsthetic and the decorative, illustration in its widest sense as exemplified above is not always recognized. In its narrow sense illustration is less interpretation than the crystallization of a moment of import or excitement. This is the sense of the word to many laymen who gain their impression from the average illustrated novel or magazine of fiction, and this is an entirely modern development of the meaning of the word. What I wish to make clear is that if the Greek vase painter is to be called an illustrator, it must be in the larger and original sense of the word. The solution of the difficulty would perhaps be to find some better term to apply to both the vase painter and his work.

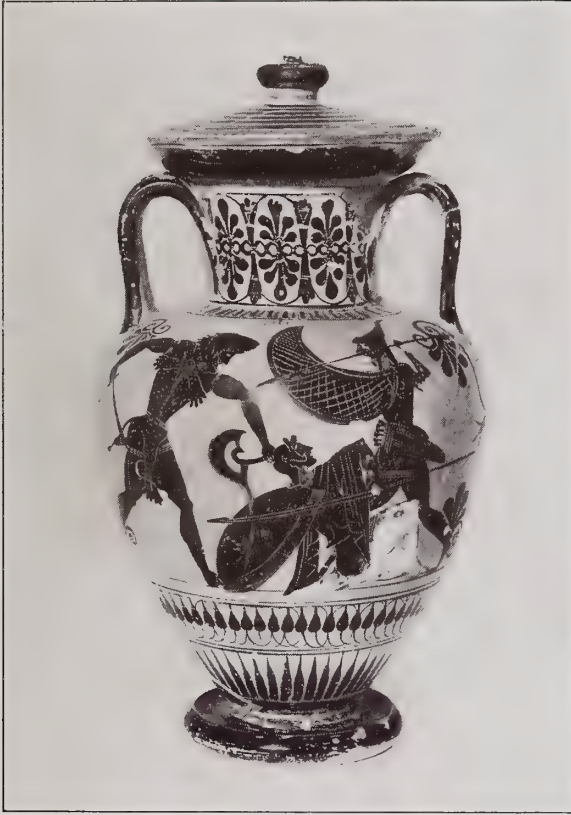
This paper is an attempt more exactly to define the work of the Greek vase painter, so as to arrive at a more just estimate of the value of his work in the pictorial or graphic sense of it.

Stress can not too often be laid on the fact that the Greek vase painters were never considered artists. Even their contemporaries ranked them as artisans. It is therefore in no sense fair to speak of the vase painters in any way that may lead to a confusion of their sphere with the major art. Dimly vase paintings may reflect the motives of the lost Greek frescoes, but the influence from mural painting upon pottery must necessarily be almost negligible. That is to say, a vase under so-called Polygnotan influence will prove the justness of the title by a certain tendency to elaboration, an indication of landscape, an attempt at perspective made by placing figures on different levels, and a certain subtlety in indicating characteristics not by attribute but by gesture and pose. Yet undeniably such treatment betrays both a lessening sense of the true function of vase painting and an overreaching ambition; and it is a presage of decadence.

The vase painter was primarily a decorator and a designer, whose sole function was to accentuate the beauty of the potter's creation. What he drew or painted on the vase must necessarily be of such nature as to enhance the beauty of the curves and proportions of the vase. He must so decorate the surface as to increase the appreciation of the beauty of its form. Like the good accompanist in music, the vase painter must show his skill only to round out the æsthetic effect of two expressive mediums juxtaposed.

The designs of Greek vases are largely inspired by Greek mythology and legend. In the broadest sense of the word they are illustrations; but since they present scenes without a precise moment, scenes generally of undetermined locality, they may be said less to illustrate a story than to embody a theme. The Greek vase painter is not so much interested in the question of why and where Heracles had to struggle with the Nemean Lion as he is concerned with showing man directed by the powers above conquering the beast. The vase painter translated into terms of line and contour the stories which permeated the atmosphere. Very justly has it been said that Greek art flourished under peculiarly auspicious conditions. Greek poetry and Greek art ran side by side. Probably at no other time in the history of the world except as Greek art developed was it possible for artists and artisans, poets and populace to enjoy a common

inspiration which engendered products of universal appeal. Not even in the age that saw the blossoming of Gothic art was there so unified an interest. Nowadays diversified interests as well as a stupid distinction set up between art and trade by the superficial minded make universal appeal well nigh impossible and art a mockery. The Greek realized fully that vital art is more than beauty; it is truth and utility and only therefore has it an excuse for being.



Attic Blackfigured Amphora Heracles Fighting Two Amazons.

FIG. 29.

The golden age of Greek vase painting developed what one might almost term a pictographic system of decorating vases. A well known story was selected, perhaps one of the exploits of Heracles whose deeds, despite hackneyed treatment, never failed to win interest. Of this story the theme was taken and translated from words into lines. Just how this could be done can best be made clear by a study of some vases bearing mythological scenes.

The Greek vases in the University Museum with mythological scenes, though few in number, are fortunately varied in subject. Many of their themes are taken from the epic cycle, and include the wrestling of Peleus and Thetis, the Judgment of Paris, the ambush for Troilus at the fountain, the rescue of the corpse of Achilles, the fight over the body of Antilochus, as well as the peculiarly Attic themes of Theseus and the Minotaur, the exploits of Heracles, the Birth of Athena, and her Reception into Olympus. We should include also the symbolic theme of Greeks fighting Amazons, which is



Attic Blackfigured Krater with Heracles and the Nemean Lion.

FIG. 30.

to be distinguished from the mythical combat of Heracles with Amazons, and seems to be in the fifth century at least an allegorical expression of joy and thanksgiving at the victory over the invading Persians in 480 B. C. Ultimately it may signify the downfall of matriarchy.

In general one may say that there are four ways of depicting a story—the simple, the complex, the complicated and the simplified.

The simple treatment gives a scene whose meaning is obvious. The figures delineated are, even in the barest conception of the theme vitally concerned in the action, and none of the figures is superfluous. Examples of this simple treatment may be found on two amphorae in the University Museum (Mediterranean Section,

Case VIII, No. 119 and No. 127). The obverse of each of these vases shows Heracles fighting Amazons (Fig. 29). In each picture Heracles has worsted one Amazon, and a second rushes to the rescue of the fallen. It would perhaps be stretching the imagination too much to find in the fallen Amazon the figure of the queen Hippolyta, whose girdle Heracles had to fetch for Eurystheus.

The complex method is represented by a blackfigured cylix showing the rape of Thetis. On the outside of the cup in the centre of each field Peleus struggles with Thetis. On each side of the straining group stands a Nereid, sister to Thetis, an affrighted witness of the scene. Thus to the simple fact of the wrestling is added the note of general distress caused by the violence of the intruder. Another example of the complex method of treatment is seen on the vases representing Heracles' conquest of the Nemean Lion. This takes place generally in the presence of Athena, the patron deity of the hero. Frequently his nephew and comrade Iolaos is a spectator. Almost always the hero's arms—his bow, quiver and club—are held by these spectators, or are hung up in the background, by way of indicating that weapons are useless against the invulnerable beast.

The third method I call complicated because it introduces figures which are not really germane to the scene, although they do belong in the story. For an example of this method I have chosen a large blackfigured amphora from Orvieto, showing Theseus slaying the Minotaur. The story goes that Theseus, son of Aegeus, king of Athens, along with six youths and seven maidens, was sent to Crete as part of the tribute exacted by the Knossian sea king from the subject city of Athens. These young people were to be victims of the Minotaur, the bull of Minos, which in historical times was misunderstood as a half animal, half human monster, instead of the sacred bull baited by toreadors as he is still in Spain. Theseus resolved to slay the Minotaur so that never again such tribute need be paid. There was however a great difficulty about the accomplishment of this ambition, for the monster was kept in a labyrinth or maze from which egress was practically impossible. Theseus won the confidence of Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, who gave him a key to the labyrinth, she supplied a great quantity of yarn or string, one end of which Theseus tied to his person. Then he went in stealthily by night to the monster's lair while Ariadne stood outside the building paying out the string. When he had



Attic Blackfigured Amphora—Two Greeks and Amazon.
FIG. 31.

slain the Minotaur, Theseus simply followed back on the course of the string to the entrance where Ariadne awaited him.

Now mark how the vase painter tells the story. In the centre of the panel stands Theseus dispatching the bullheaded man. This deed should be done in a secret place unseen of men; but at the left behind Theseus is Ariadne, and behind her stands a draped man who, if bearded, might on the analogy of other representations of the scene be her father Minos whom she is betraying. At the right of the central group are three figures which may be Athenian youths. In an illustration none of these five figures has any proper place, but in a story telling picture they serve to round out the theme of the narrative. The figure of Ariadne suggests the way by which Theseus attained his goal; the figure which normally

stands behind her, Minos, locates the action in Knossos, and suggests the complication of forces that caused Ariadne to aid the stranger despite her natural inclination to do her father's will; the three figures at the right suggests the mission on which Theseus was sent to Crete, and also the result of his daring—the freeing of the Athenians from the galling tribute.

The fourth method consists in taking a well known story telling motive or type and using it less with the idea of telling a story than of decorating a space. A blackfigured cylix shows on the exterior on one side between eyes a nude youth and a seated sphinx. The sphinx is a hybrid creature commonly associated with Egypt, but the winged variety is of Mesopotamian origin. The Asiatic form was adopted by the Greeks in the period of strong artistic influence from the East, and was used as decoration on the Orientalizing pottery of the seventh century B. C. In Greek literature and mythology the sphinx has only local connotation—Thebes, a city which has much of the non-Hellenic in its makeup and traditions. The sphinx is involved in the most famous legend of Thebes, the story of Oedipus, the most cursed of men, who unwittingly slew his father and married his own mother. The story goes that Laius, king of Thebes, being warned by an oracle that his son begotten against the will of the gods should slay him, had the baby exposed. But shepherds found the child and reared him, calling him Oedipus—swellfoot—from the fact that when he was found his feet were pierced and bound together. The lad one day in a traveller's brawl on the highway slew his unknown father; later he came upon the sphinx. The sphinx had been plaguing the country about Thebes by killing all she met, for none could save his life by guessing the answer to the riddle she asked. It ran to this effect—There is upon earth a two footed and four footed one voiced thing that is also three footed; it alone of all creatures of earth and sky and sea changes its nature; when it goes on most feet it is feeblest. Oedipus read this riddle by Man, who in babyhood creeps on all fours, in his prime walks upright and in old age leans on a staff. Having so answered the sphinx, he dispatched the monster, and the grateful Thebans made him their king and gave him to wife their queen Jocasta, widow of Laius.

In Greek art a man and a sphinx in a group seem always to connote Oedipus, but there is little in this representation to clinch the allusion. The youth has none of the travellers' accouterments

which tradition gives to Oedipus in this motive. The motive is become mere decoration.

Since Greek decoration like all good decoration is derived, it is not fanciful to look for stories behind such scenes of blackfigured vases as the chariot scene, or the warriors playing dice, and other scenes of which we do not know the full significance. Some day we may discover the exact meaning of such scenes. It is not so long since the chance discovery of some verses of Bacchylides made clear the scene of Dionysos sailing on the famous cylix of Execias.

We must realize then that the story telling of the Greek vase painter is of a very special sort. Its essence is compactness. Details of his picture suggest details of the story behind it: a tree, for instance, will serve as short hand symbolism for a forest. This compactness must reveal how far the Greek artist is removed from the primitive. Primitive narration placed side by side successive scenes each with the hero therein. Such was the sculptor's method when he carved on the metopes of a Doric temple the exploits of Heracles or Theseus. Except for the famous cup in the British Museum on which Duris painted exploits of Theseus, the vase painter did not employ continuous narrative. Very rarely do both obverse and reverse of a vase feature the same story. The rule is that the obverse is the more important, and that the reverse is a decorative foil to it. The reverse may be related to the obverse, or it may be quite distinct from it. For instance the two amphorae mentioned above as having on their obverse the scene of Heracles and the Amazons, are decorated on their reverse with kindred scenes—one with mounted Amazons, the other with Greeks fighting Amazons; but the amphora showing Theseus and the Minotaur has on the reverse a simple scene of the departure of a warrior in his quadriga.

This brief sketch does not take into account scenes of every day life, which are very common on Greek vases, and which in their glimpses of palaestra, banquet hall and ceremonial, are more nearly illustrations than are the mythological scenes just discussed. The paper contributes little new to the appreciation of Greek vases, but it constitutes the beginning of a larger study of the narrative element in Greek art, and if it help at all to increase the layman's interest in the Greek vases in the University Museum or in Greek vases in general, it will have served its purpose well.

E. F. R.

NOTES

GIFTS.

The following gifts have been received.

A piece of tapa cloth from Samoa from Mrs. Walter J. Freeman.

Twenty ethnological specimens from Mr. William West Frazier, Jr.

Two North American Indian baskets from Mrs. Richard Waln Meirs.

An Eskimo rain coat from Mr. J. W. Grosscup.

An Egyptian stela from Mrs. William A. Rambo.

An iridescent bottle from Mr. Samuel J. Castner.

Thirty ethnographical photographs from Mr. Langdon Warner.

PURCHASES.

A carved wooden image from the Congo.

A devil dancer's mask from Java.

Ten Eskimo ivory carvings.

A Benin wooden drum and a bronze plaque.

A Marquesas Island shell trumpet.

EXPEDITIONS.

Dr. Farabee, Curator of the American Section, started for Peru on February 4 for the purpose of making archaeological investigations. Dr. Farabee will be absent from the Museum for a year.

The Eckley B. Coxe expedition has obtained a concession at Thebes near the entrance to the Valley of the Kings where excavations were undertaken in November. Later the work of the Egyptian Expedition was transferred to Memphis, where the excavations which began at that site in 1915 have been prosecuted for several months each year.

On April 6 Mr. Fisher will take up the work at Beisan, Palestine, at the point where it was left off last September. An account of last year's work at Beisan will be found in this JOURNAL.

Mr. Robert Burkitt continues his investigations in Guatemala where his studies of the native languages, customs and folklore have already furnished the Museum with many interesting records.

BUILDING.

It has been decided to build an extension of the Museum to include the gallery lying to the eastward of the present dome. This will provide on the ground floor an Egyptian Hall to accommodate the Egyptian collections which are now in the Museum, together with those which are stored in Egypt. The upper floor will be used to relieve the congestion in the other sections of the Museum while the basement will provide needed space for storage and workrooms.

CHINESE EXHIBITION.

Plans are being completed for holding a Special Exhibition of Chinese Art which will be opened on April 8 with a reception to which all members and their friends have been invited. For the purposes of this Exhibition a rearrangement has been made of the Chinese collections. In the Charles Custis Harrison Hall will be shown objects from the earliest period through the Ming Period. They include the following.

- Potteries of the Han, T'ang, Sung and Ming dynasties.
- Bronze vessels of the Shang and Chow Dynasties.
- Sculpture of the Wei, Six Dynasties and T'ang.
- Paintings of the Five Dynasties, Sung, Yuan and Ming.
- Cloisonné of the Ming Dynasty.
- A lacquer screen of the late Ming Dynasty.

Among these exhibits are a number of loans from Mr. C. T. Loo of Paris and one bronze vessel from Messrs. Ton-Ying and Company of New York.

In addition to these objects of Chinese Art there was placed in the exhibition a small terracotta head of the Gandhara type, an example of the Indo-Greek sculpture of Northern India dating from the 1st century B. C. to the 5th century A. D. This specimen is the gift of Alexander Scott, Esq.

A collection of K'ang Hsi porcelains which completes the Chinese collections is now placed in Pepper Hall between the main stairs and the entrance to Charles Custis Harrison Hall. With these are exhibited a pair of Chinese embroidered hangings of the K'ang Hsi Period loaned to the Museum by Mrs. Offly Shore. In the same Hall are also shown the Tibetan collections.

EGYPTIAN EXHIBITION.

During the winter the Egyptian Section of the Museum was closed to the public for painting and repairs and for rearrangement of the collections. At the same time part of the older exhibits were removed and a few of the smaller objects discovered in recent years in the excavations of the Eckley B. Coxe, Jr. Expedition at Giza, Denderah and Memphis were installed. This work is completed and the room will be reopened at the same time as the opening of the Chinese exhibit.

STORY HOUR FOR CHILDREN OF MEMBERS.

During the months of April and May arrangements have been made to provide Story Hours for Children of Members at the Museum on Saturday morning at eleven o'clock. These talks will be given by Miss Helen E. Fernald and Mrs. Loring Dam and the program, copies of which will be sent to all members of the Museum, is as follows.

- April 1. Kumagdlat and Aselok, Eskimo Cousins; and Katerparsuk, the Poor Orphan Boy.
- April 8. Hercules, a Favorite Hero of Greek Story.
- April 15. How the Amazon Indians Think the World Began.
- April 22. The Story of Prince Rice-Ear-Ruddy-Plenty, and of His Brother, Prince Fire-Subside.
- April 29. Wee Rabbit, and His Adventures in Guatemala.
- May 6. The Stories of the Siege of Troy; and of Theseus and the Minotaur.
- May 13. He who was Dead and Lives Again, a Famous Indian Medicine-Man.
- May 20. What Some Pictures on the Chinese Porcelains Tell.
- May 27. The Story of Merytaten, a Real Egyptian Child.

POPULAR EDUCATION IN THE AUDITORIUM AND IN THE GALLERIES.

The lectures for the elementary classes in the public schools which were resumed on March 15, will be continued until the end of May. The lectures for the high schools extend from March 21 through April. The program of these two series of lectures is as follows.

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ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LECTURES.

- March 15. The Philippine Islands and Their People.
- March 22. Our West and the National Parks.
- March 29. Alaska: Among the Indians and Eskimos.
- April 5. A Trip Through Darkest Africa.
- April 19. The Crusades.
- April 26. Central America and the Panama Canal.
- May 3. China and the Chinese.
- May 10. Scenes from the South Sea Islands.
- May 17. Merytaten, an Egyptian Child.
- May 24. Japan and the Japanese.

HIGH SCHOOL LECTURES.

- March 21. Sir Walter Scott's Country and the English Lakes.
- March 28. The Golden Age of Pericles in Art and History.
- April 4. Some Masterpieces of Chinese Art.
- April 11. Old London.
- April 18. A Trip Through Italy.
- April 25. Caesar, and Rome as He Knew It.

During the months of January, February and March the following lectures were given in the Auditorium of the Museum on Saturday afternoons.

- January 7. Sancta Sophia, by Charles R. Morey.
- January 14. A Naturalist in the Guiana Jungle, by William Beebe.
- January 21. Little Zion Canyon, A Rainbow in the Desert, by Stephen S. Johnson.
- January 28. Ancient London, by George Byron Gordon.
- February 4. Japan, by Fay Cooper Cole.
- February 11. With the Sumerians 5000 Years Ago, Leon Legrain.
- February 18. The Origin of Early Christian Church Art, by Josef Strzygowski.
- February 25. Caricature in Ancient Art, by David M. Robinson.
- March 4. Michelangelo: Sculptor, Painter, Poet, by Charles Theodore Carruth.
- March 11. Travels in Greece, by Walton Brooks McDaniel.
- March 18. Ancient London, by George Byron Gordon.
- March 25. The Passing of the Old West, by Charles Wellington Furlong.

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On Sunday afternoons the following lectures were given.

- January 29. London Today, by George Byron Gordon.
February 12. Poland, by F. de St. Phalle.
March 5. Edinburgh and the Highlands, by George Byron Gordon.
March 12. Vagabonding Through Classic Lands, by Walton B. McDaniel.
March 19. Ancient London, by George Byron Gordon.
March 26. The Passing of the Old West, by Charles Wellington Furlong.

The daily lecture tours in the galleries of the Museum which began on January 2, will be continued until the end of April.

NEW MEMBERS.

The following members have been elected.

CONTRIBUTING MEMBER

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FORM OF BEQUEST

I give and bequeath to the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania the sum of _____dollars, in trust for the uses of the University Museum. (Here, if desired, specify in detail the purposes.)

SPECIAL NOTICE

In order that The University Museum may give appropriate recognition to the substantial gifts which have been already received, and which will hereafter be donated or bequeathed for the development of its resources and the extension of its usefulness, the Board of Managers have adopted the following classification for contributors and members, and have resolved that the names of the donors of aggregate sums of \$25,000 and upwards, in cash, securities, or property shall be inscribed upon a suitable tablet or tablets, to be properly displayed in the Museum.

There shall be five classes of Contributors designated as follows:

<i>Benefactors,</i>	who shall have contributed the equivalent of \$50,000
<i>Associate Benefactors,</i>	" " " " " " " 25,000
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There shall be four classes of Members designated as follows:

<i>Life Members,</i>	who shall contribute \$500
<i>Contributing Members,</i>	" " " 100 annually
<i>Sustaining Members,</i>	" " " 25 "
<i>Annual Members,</i>	" " " 10 "

Contributors and Members are entitled to the following privileges: admission to the Museum at all reasonable times; invitations to receptions given by the Board of Managers at the Museum; invitations and reserved seats for lectures; the MUSEUM JOURNAL; copies of all guides and handbooks published by the Museum and free use of the Library.

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FOREWORD

Prior to 1912 the University Museum possessed a group of 19 small objects from Great Benin presented by Mr. Ling Roth in 1897. They consisted of an ivory armlet, nine light bracelets, two small plaques, a mask and six small ornaments. These personal ornaments were published in part in the MUSEUM BULLETIN for January, 1899.

In 1912 the Museum acquired the first of its bronze and ivory altarpieces: heads and carved tusks, together with some other art objects. In December of that year an account of these objects was published in the MUSEUM JOURNAL. During the ten years that have intervened the Benin Collection has been increased from time to time as opportunity offered by the addition of selected specimens bought in London and the Museum is now able to afford the student of Benin Art an opportunity of observing it in all of its phases and in most of its details. Among the objects of first importance are the furnishings of a Royal Altar, an outstanding and picturesque feature of the West African City. This altar group has not been transported entire and re-erected, but assembled one piece at a time. The pieces have been placed on a model of an altar in an order and arrangement which is faithful to descriptions and pictures by writers who knew Great Benin at a time when such altars were in use or at the moment when that use was suddenly interrupted.

Including the objects on the altar there are in all about two hundred specimens in the Museum's Benin collection. Other collections similar in kind are in the British Museum, the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford and the Berlin Museum. Benin art objects are rarely obtainable now. All of the pieces shown in the University Museum were collected in 1897 by members of the expedition that visited Great Benin in that year, when the human sacrifices were stopped and the King made a prisoner.

Great Benin was the last example of the old style Barbarism that has furnished history with one of its principal motives from the beginning. That barbarism may very well be represented by its altars. In the Museum we have set up an altar such as might have been seen in Great Benin prior to 1897 and I am not aware that any detail has been omitted from its furnishing of idols, heads, tusks, bells and staves, but realism could not be attained without the presence of a sacrifice, for the altar required human victims and it was usually wet with blood and reeking with fresh offerings.

The chief interest of the collection however is not derived from its former association with a bloody ritual but from its very extraordinary artistic character. It is from this point of view that readers of the JOURNAL are invited to consider the collection from Great Benin. The objects that make up that collection would not be intelligible however if viewed apart from the customs and beliefs with which they were so intimately related and that undoubtedly lent form and substance to the whole artistic output. Like the art of other African peoples on the West Coast and in the Congo Basin, the fetish is the central and imposing fact and the artist's work is responsive to beliefs connected with fetish worship.

The fetish and the potent spells for good or ill, ancestor worship and a belief in watchful powers readily moved to make or mar—this tremendous background of belief and of tradition from which the idols emerged under the sculptor's hand as the embodiment of the great realities of his conscious existence, directed the artistic impulse and presided over the creative work of the craftsman.

The service of the gods or of the powerful spirits that directed human affairs for good or ill was not the only occasion for the exercise of the artistic faculty or the practise of craftsmanship. The same talents and the same skill were called forth in the making of personal ornaments and the decoration of more commonplace things, but it is clear enough that the great school of art was the Juju house with its priestly ritual, the central structure in a powerful state religion that acted strongly on each individual and put its stamp on the general consciousness.

An examination of the collection in the Museum will not fail to reveal the fact that creative art in Benin fulfilled its greater tasks in connection with fetish worship, which made the chief demand on the artist's resources and furnished the most powerful incentive to creative effort. In that school the artists of Benin acquired a knowledge and skill that appear to have been extended to personal and domestic uses. The themes employed in personal ornaments, plaques and utensils, true to their traditions, are apt to be reminiscent of the fetish and to point in the direction of magic and the supernatural. The art of representation, exhibited at its best in the bronze plaques and also in the carved fetish tusks and heads, is closely assimilated to the traditional ideas and modes of thought. There are examples of pictorial art that have no apparent relation to religious subjects or practises and that nevertheless employ the same

methods and the same technique and sometimes the same forms as the altarpieces. There are also examples of ornament in the form of conventional patterns and these also are common to all classes of objects whether identified with the fetish altars or with objects of purely secular use.

It all ended in a rich and extraordinary accumulation of traditional art that was dispersed at the taking of the City and that is now to be found only in some half dozen museums, a possession of civilization.

In the paper that follows Mr. Hall presents the results of a scholarly study of Benin art, as represented by the Museum collection and in its relation to the native life and customs.

G. B. G.



The altar furniture, including the fetish tusks with their bronze pedestals, the altar bells and rattle staves.
FIG. 32.

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No. 2

GREAT BENIN ROYAL ALTAR

THE juju or fetish altar which has lately been installed in the African room is designed to exhibit in something like the setting in which they were probably once grouped some of the most interesting examples of the art of Benin included in the University Museum's important collections from that formerly powerful negro kingdom.

Neither of the words commonly used to denote objects and ceremonies connected with the religious beliefs and magical practices of West African negroes can be referred with certainty to a negro language. Juju and fetish are corruptions, the first probably of the French word for toy, the second certainly of a Portuguese word meaning charm or amulet. Setting aside whatever intention of blame or derision may have inhered in their original use or survived to the present day, the general understanding of their meaning as including a supernatural or magical power of bringing good to the owner or worshipper or celebrant and of working harm to those to whom he or the power represented was not well disposed, is adequate for general purposes.

The king of Benin had his residence in Benin City, or Edo, the capital of the country of the same name which is now a part of the British Protectorate of Nigeria. He passed his life in almost complete seclusion from the lower ranks, at any rate, of his subjects, by whom he was only rarely seen. He exercised his authority through powerful officials and left the compound in which his palace was situated only on certain ceremonial occasions. Through his lieutenants he ruled over territory which at one time reached the sea on the Slave Coast, the flat, low stretch of the West African seaboard between the rivers Niger and Volta.

The king's power was fetish, he was in a manner divine, requiring neither food nor drink nor sleep to sustain his being; he would

die, indeed, but after death would come again to life and his kingdom. He was the object of a service which was of the nature of worship, and the sanctions of which were grounded in fear—the fear of a being whose seclusion surrounded him with mystery, and the arm of whose law wielded a terrible sword. Offenders against that law together with slaves and prisoners of war furnished most of the victims sacrificed to the gods.

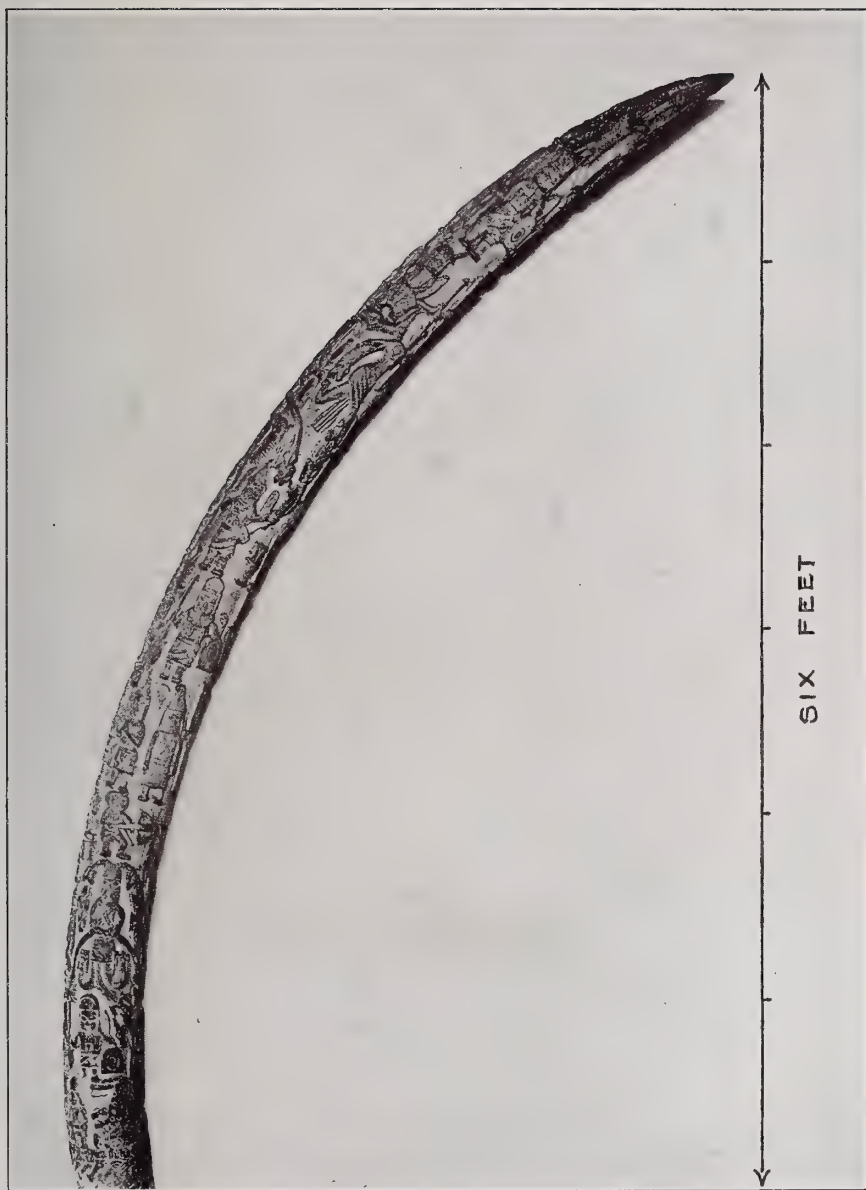
The most striking and the essential part of the ritual of the worship of the Bini consisted in sacrifices to the ancestors, who were conceived as directing for good or evil the affairs of living men. These spirits might be angry, and the wider powers which death had



The altar.

FIG. 33.

conferred on them by association with the spiritual and the invisible, that is, with other spiritual forces and elements never incarnated and always malignant, made their anger most formidable. They must be propitiated, and blood, the essence of life, was an acceptable offering, if not a necessary revivifier, to them. Altars and images, containers of the ancestor spirit, the god, were drenched therefore with the blood of victims, fowls and goats and oxen and men and women. The gods were spirits; other spirits, liberated by bodily death, must be made messengers to them of prayers and wishes, and a human spirit was naturally the most efficient messenger. The gods were subject to the same needs as their children on earth; so, when a king or a great chief died, attendants must be dispatched



The longest of the fetish tusks. It lies on the altar. Among the forms found on this tusk which are not represented on the two central upright ones are an ibis with a catfish in its bill, a European with a crossbow, and the fish man, or fetish king, with two crocodiles issuing from his head.

FIG. 34.



Large bronze figure on the altar. The left hand holds an axe or a hammer; the right probably once held a staff.

FIG. 35.



Head and torso of a bronze figure resembling Fig. 35.
FIG. 36.

with him to the spirit world, and others must follow on at each anniversary celebration of his death. For lesser men a lesser sacrifice of fowls or goats or oxen must serve; though the poultry yard and the herd were not spared in the former case either.

As being himself fetish and representing the interests of his divine predecessors, the king had the right to sacrifice human victims.

This prerogative was not unique. The chief officials, agents of his powers and kingly functions, though but one of them bore a priestly title, shared also this sacerdotal prerogative, and were thus strongly entrenched in all fields, military, civil, and religious, over which the royal power extended, and, wielding that power for the king, kept him in the background, an awe inspiring puppet invested with all the influences of superstitious terror which were the sanctions of the acts they performed in his name.

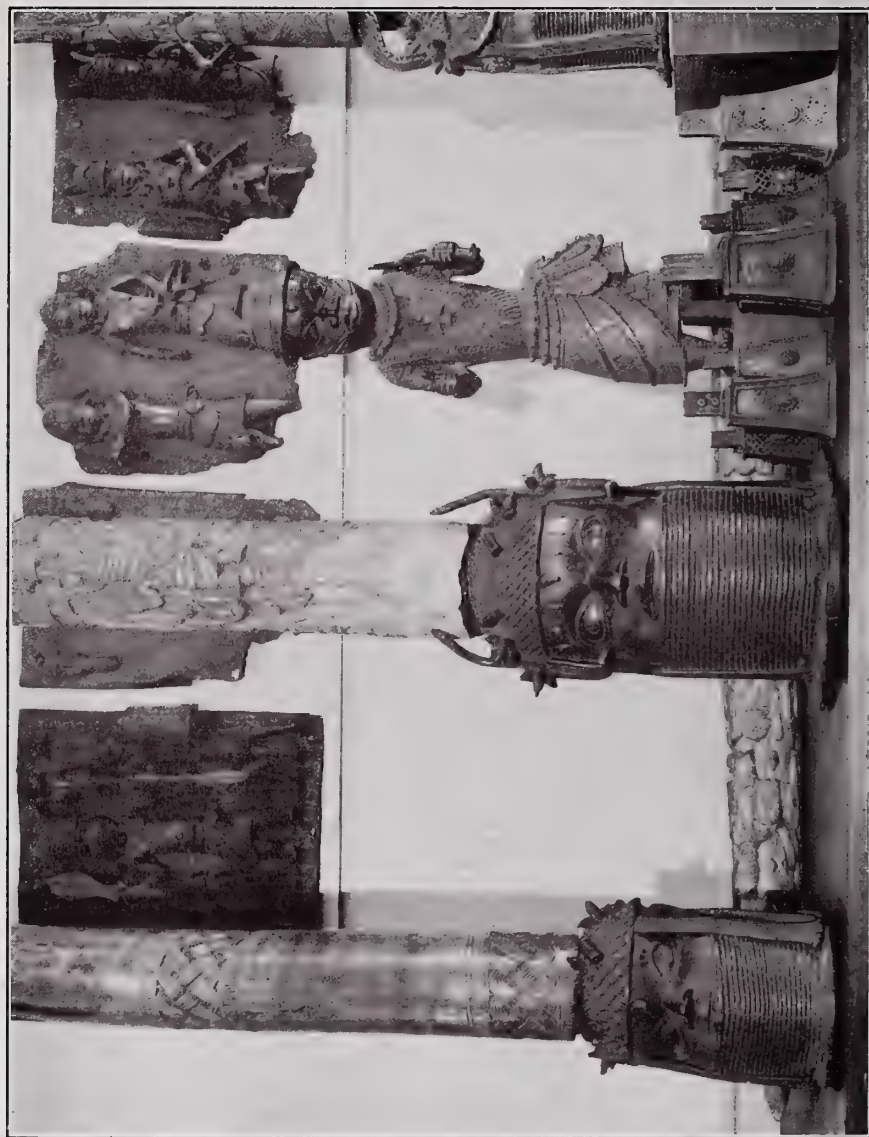
Not only the king, then, but also the queen mother, the captain of war, the principal judge, and the chief priest might sacrifice human beings to their ancestors. From these ancestors they inherited their offices, and, like the king, thus wielded power by a kind of divine right; since ancestors who are sacrificed to, and to that extent worshipped, are, if not already deified, at least in a fair way of being so. Benin was, it seems, a holy city—it was cut off not only physically by a wall but spiritually by a kind of taboo from the rest of the kingdom—governed by a hierarchy whose members were possessed of varying degrees of supernatural power. Apparently the city maintained its supremacy over the other towns of the kingdom chiefly by the superstitious awe which this theory of government inspired, supported as it was by the bloody terror of ritual murder.

The actual slaying of victims was deputed to a professional executioner, a public official of considerable importance. If the act of killing was originally essential to the office of celebrant at these sacrifices, perhaps we may see a survival of the primitive exercise of this right or duty in the circumstances that attended the capture of a leopard by a hunter. "When a man killed a leopard he had to take it to the Oba (king), who gave the hunter a boy and a girl in exchange for it. The Oba used to try very hard to obtain the leopard alive, so that he might sacrifice it. On doing so he would put his finger into its blood and make a mark with it on his forehead, from his hair to his nose" [R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 229]. Here we seem to see the king in his double capacity



Bronze figure, shown also in Fig. 35, holding an implement like that in the left hand of the carved figure on the adjacent tusk. The right hand probably once carried a staff like that of the tusk figure. The remarkable bronze head at the left is the portrait of a king.

FIG. 37.



The headaddresses, including the royal winged cap or crown, and the high collars were of coral or agate beads. The mode of wearing the beluku or kilt may be seen from the large bronze figure and the figures on the tusks and bronze plaques.

FIG. 38.

of priest and god, offering in his own person a sacrifice to himself; for an essential part of the ritual of sacrifice on other occasions was the sprinkling of the fetish images of ancestral deities with the blood of the victim.

There was a considerable variety of such images, for the cult of ancestors was not confined to those of the king; every family owed worship and sacrifice to the spirits of its forebears, and these were supposed to inhabit objects of several kinds and forms. The king's special fetish was a representation in bronze or brass of a human head, probably a portrait of an ancestor, surmounted by the tusk of

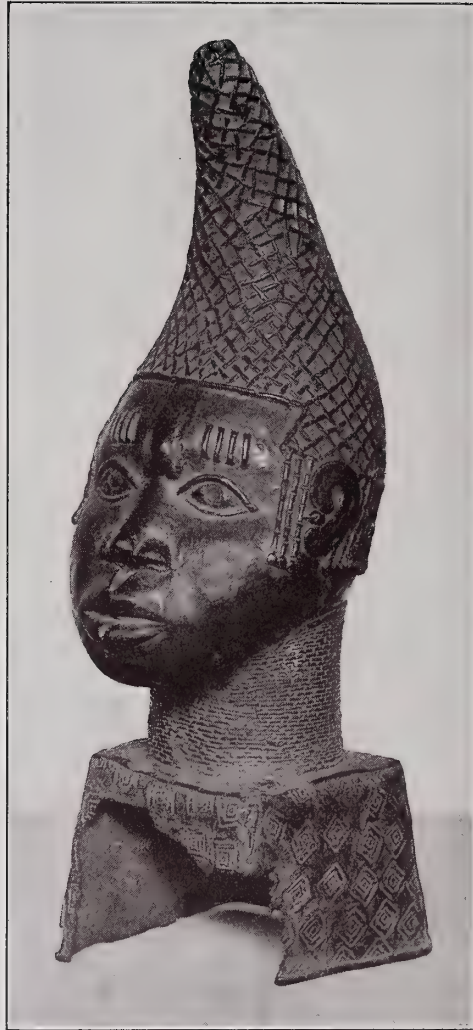


Bronze heads of the oldest type like that on the left of the row of heads on the altar.

FIG. 39.

an elephant often carved all over with figures of men and animals. These were set up on altars which there is reason to suppose were in some cases also the tombs of royal ancestors.

A photograph of such an altar, taken several years before the British occupation of the city put an end to the orgies of slaughter which marked the native rule, is reproduced in *Great Benin*, H. Ling Roth's history of the kingdom [Halifax, 1903. P. 79]. The smaller details are not distinguishable in the picture, and cannot be supplied from the scant description which accompanies it. The altar (Figs. 32 and 33) does not claim to be an exact reproduction of that shown in that early photograph, but the general arrangement is similar, and the only object upon it which may not be in place there is



Bronze head of a type not used as supports for the tusks.

FIG. 40.

the bronze figure in the center which takes the place of the small figures referred to in the legend accompanying Ling Roth's photograph. All the other objects are appropriate to a king's altar, of which there was more than one in the precincts of the palace.

The town was burnt, accidentally, on the third day of occupation by a British force sent to punish the massacre of the members of a peaceful mission to the king a little more than a quarter of a century ago. Descriptions of the city and of the king's compound written before that time and others produced since then, based on native



Uchire or wooden rattle
staves representing
ancestors.

FIG. 41.

information, are either not very full or not in all respects consistent with each other. It appears, however, that in one or more of several large courts included in the king's compound or enclosure an altar or altars of dried mud resembling Fig. 33 rose from a bench of the same material which ran along the mud wall, and that before these altars sacrifices were offered of all kinds of victims including human beings.

It was a widespread custom throughout the Slave Coast and its back country, not simply to place the heads of human victims temporarily on altars or in shrines but to preserve the skulls there permanently [A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, pp. 292, 177-179; and cf. Sir R. F. Burton, *Wanderings in West Africa*, frontspiece and pp. 282-283. London, 1863]. It is, no doubt, due to a modification of this custom that bronze heads standing on no other base but that of their own necks came to be used as altar furniture by the Bini kings. Some words quoted by Burton in the passage just referred to seem almost startlingly apposite in this connection. He says: "As there had been no prisoners of late, I saw none of those trunkless heads 'which, placed on their necks, with their faces towards the juju-house, present a dreadful and appalling appearance, as of men rising from the ground.'" What Burton himself saw was the juju altar with a kind of reredos decorated with rows of skulls of men and goats, the relics of former sacrifices. Though he is speaking of Bonny, not of Benin, it is known that, in addition to the general relationship implied by similarities of beliefs and ritual practices among all the peoples of the region, there was an actual bond of a politico religious nature between these two states in the early part of the last century. That the custom in Benin of keeping artificial representations of human heads on the altars had not altogether superseded that of keeping skulls there is shown by a photograph in the book *Great Benin* of an altar in a private house "near the king's, in which a noble lived. It was part of his office to kill a slave every year for the king and put the skull on the altar" [p. 64].

The bronze heads on the king's altar formed each with its superimposed tusk the special fetish of the king representing an ancestor. The available information does not enable us to trace the process by which the skull of a sacrificial victim may have developed into a fetish which was also apparently a memento in the nature of a portrait of a royal ancestor. In West Africa, however, new cults are always arising or new features of cults becoming grafted upon old ones.



Heads of the rattle staves. At the left, the figure of a king standing on an elephant.
FIG. 42.



Bronze plaque. The necklaces of leopards' teeth and the leopard's head on their beaded doublets indicate that the warriors are of the retinue of the king or the captain of war.

FIG. 43.



Bronze plaque. A king's boy carrying a drum or casket. The objects in low relief at the corners of the plaque are heads of crocodiles.

FIG. 44.

If the skull was the representative of a spirit messenger sent to communicate with the spirits in the world inhabited by the royal dead, it might by contact absorb some of their royalty or divinity. The transition would be assisted by circumstances which, according to the native tradition, completely revolutionized Bini representative art.

In the reign of Esige, the ninth successor of the founder of the dynasty which was overturned by the British occupation, there was attached to the court of Benin, or living in the town, a white man, Ahamangiwa by name, who, being skilled in bronze founding, was commissioned by the king to make portraits of the captives taken in an expedition against a neighbouring tribe. Certain of the king's boys were assigned to Ahamangiwa to assist him and to learn this new art. We know the fate which commonly awaited prisoners of war. For what other reason can portraits of captives have been wanted than to take the place on the altar, in durable bronze or brass, of their perishable skulls? Having been set up there in association with objects representing royal ancestors, viz., the carved tusks and the rattle staves (Figs. 32, 41 and 42), the suggestion was ready made to immortalize royalty more directly and palpably by a still closer association of its actual presentment in bronze with its more abstract emblem in ivory—the king's portrait or his father's with the ancestral symbol, the tusk. The tusks would be at once more suitable and available than the staves for this purpose, as they were a perquisite of the king and were immobilized on the altar, while the staves were removed from it for use during the ceremonies which accompanied sacrifices.

Native tradition is, of course, notoriously a guide on which reliance for the course or the details of historical events must be placed with caution. But the circumstantial relation by a court historian of Benin of facts which link up well with known events in the history of the close Portuguese relations with Benin is evidence at least of probability. When, for instance, we know from a letter written to Dom Miguel of Portugal in 1516 by one of his subjects then residing in Benin as a friend of the king that Portuguese missionaries accompanied a Bini force on a military expedition and remained with it a year, the likelihood of a Portuguese Ahamangiwa's connection with the court of Benin, as official maker of bronze portraits of war captives and teacher of that art, is certainly enhanced. If any event is likely to make an unchanging impression on the memory of a people—a people provided, too, with an official his-



Bronze plaque. The figure at the left whose baldric and sword are carried by his companion is presenting the head of an ox, the victim of a sacrifice.

FIG. 45.

torian—it would be the circumstances of the introduction of a new art, which, although sufficient time had elapsed since its introduction to allow of its almost complete decay, they still recognized as originally a foreign importation.

Before passing to the consideration of the bronzes in question, and beginning at the back of the altar proper, the first objects to be noted are the uchire or rattle staves (Figs. 32, 41 and 42). The carvings on these are disposed according to sections corresponding, we are told, to the internodes of a stick of bamboo.

The longer staff has three figures including the principal one at the top, presumably the ancestor proper. There is nothing to



Bronze plaque. A noble, as shown by his collar and anklets, presenting a casket. The four half length figures in low relief represent Europeans.

FIG. 46.

show that this is a royal uchure; the topmost figure wears a breast ornament of the same character—perhaps one of the brass powder flasks such as were made by the Bini metal founders—as that of the seated attendant near the butt of the staff, who is apparently beating a drum. The female figure in the center holds in front of her a frame, perhaps a dish, within which are two round objects similar to the one carried in the left hand of the principal figure above, who holds in his right an uchure.

The other uchure, though shorter, is more elaborately carved, even the sections which are not occupied by figures being covered with designs probably intended to imitate matting, including the favourite bands of guilloche which occur so frequently in Bini decoration, notably at the bases of the fully carved tusks and as the only ornament on the others. There is only one attendant figure here, but he is a person of importance since he carries an executioner's sword and a wand which is perhaps the king's taboo sign. His anklets are a mark of rank befitting that important personage, the executioner. The forehead and body have the regular Bini cicatrized markings.

The figure with which this staff is surmounted has the spiked headdress which appears again on some of the principal figures of the carved tusks. He wears no anklets, but he has that other mark of high rank, the cylindrical collar of beadwork. The forehead and body are marked with cicatrizations. The front of the body is crossed by two baldrics of beadwork. The left hand grasps an uchure and the right an object which may be intended to represent a stone celt, such as are found on or near the surface of the ground in that part of Africa and are regarded by the natives as having a supernatural origin and power. The figure stands on an elephant whose trunk ends in a human hand holding a feather. The representation of an elephant's head and trunk, the latter furnished with a hand usually grasping some object, is frequent on Benin ceremonial or ornamental objects, especially those of bronze and ivory. Its occurrence on objects known to have been associated with royalty affords ground for assuming that it is symbolic, representing some attribute of the king. The impressive size and strength of the elephant and the uncanny dexterity shown in its use of the powerful proboscis with the prehensile fingerlike extremity—double in the case of the African elephant—which would easily suggest a hand even to the not very nimble fantasy of a Bini artist, makes of the beast a



Bronze group. Elephants and hunters or ivory carvers.
FIG. 47.

fitting symbol of royal or divine power. As we have seen, elephants killed by hunters formed an appanage of the king. The evidence that this is a royal uchure and that the upper figure represents a king is made conclusive by the close resemblance of the top of the staff to that of the brazen staff of office of Eduboa, the king of Benin who was deposed by the British in 1897. The metal staff, said to have been in Eduboa's family for many generations, has the form of an uchure of which the topmost section shows a king holding similar objects and



Bronze group. Victims at a sacrifice.

FIG. 48.

standing on the back of an elephant. In the example before us the animal is very cleverly represented according to conventions made necessary by the dimensions of the object of which it was to form a part, by the purpose the animal was to serve in the carved group as a pedestal for the principal figure, and by the artist's material. The body and limbs are compressed into a squat cylindrical form, the trunk and tusks which in the brazen uchure project naturally, are here carved in relief on the front of the head, the tusks converging at their extremities to form a V, and the rugose trunk, characteristic of the



Fragments of three bronze plaques, representing an ibis, two catfishes, and a noble bearing taboo wands. Above is a bronze fetich mask; issuing from the nostrils, an elephant's head, the mythic trunk arm holding a feather.

African elephant, being carried across laterally so that the mythic hand clasping a feather shows against the disc of the right ear.

The rattle staves, found also on other than royal altars, had not merely the passive function of representing there the ancestors sacrificed to. Their principal use in the ritual of the sacrifices was as rattles to attract the attention of the spirits. The bells placed on the altar were used for the same purpose.

Bells like these were worn as pendants on the breast (Fig. 43); and masks like those which are represented in miniature on the bells were worn as ornaments attached to the girdle.

The figures of the wood and ivory carvings and of the bronzes cannot be regarded, except in a very few cases, as representations of characters in historical incidents. They are type figures of notables—kings, officials, and the like—with the attendants proper to their rank or suggestive of attributes or functions peculiar to it. This naïve symbolism, which is most fully carried out on the carved tusks, cannot be fully interpreted, but at least in some cases its meaning may be inferred with probability with the help of our rather fragmentary knowledge of Bini customs and beliefs.

It is from the tusk to the right of the bronze figure on the altar that we may get the clearest idea of the arrangement of the symbolic figures. They are carved in rows or tiers around the tusk. This is clearly the ideal plan at any rate, though in the case of some tusks, notably the large one lying on the altar (Fig. 34), the general scheme is obscured by the crowding in of subsidiary figures, thus confusing the rows. Some of the tusks were damaged by fire in the conflagration referred to in the earlier part of this article. In the case of the tusk now to be described the tip has been somewhat charred; but a comparison with the one to the left of the bronze figure shows that it was carved into the semblance of a head wearing a helmet of beadwork culminating in a tall spike and with streamers made up of what seem to be large beads and strips of cloth or matting depending from the back and sides.

Immediately below this on the outer curve of the tusk is a full length figure wearing a similar headdress. Its body is covered by a long shapeless robe of matting, quite unlike the characteristic Bini costume as worn by most of the other figures. Bearing in mind that this tusk was a king's fetish, symbolizing his royal and divine ancestry; that it bears as the most prominent features of its carving, as will be seen, other representations of a deceased king in his divine char-



Brazen serpent's head from a roof in the king's compound.
FIG. 50.

acter; that such tusks were set up on the tombs of kings, which were probably in some cases at least also royal altars; that it was before such altars that the king made father, i. e., sacrificed annually to his deceased predecessor; and, finally, that in Southern Nigeria generally, and among the Edo speaking peoples in particular, of whom the Bini are the chief, corpses were wrapped in matting before being buried, it seems hardly doubtful that this is a representation of a royal ancestor in his grave clothes. He carries two curved rods the ends of which converge above his head, evidently the peeled wands which were the king's taboo sign, by means of which he closed roads, which were carried before and behind the bearers of gifts to or from the king, and which were placed upon the altars.

On this tusk the principal figures are carved one above the other along the mid line of the longitudinal outer curve, each forming with attendants and other subsidiary figures a group the members of which are ranged alongside of each other round the circumference of the tusk. All but two of the chief figures, and these are not certainly exceptions, represent the king with certain royal or divine attributes.

Behind the first figure, on the inside curve of the tusk, is shown a leopard with its tail turned towards the tip of the tusk. It is holding a horned animal, probably an antelope, in its jaws. The leopard, as we have seen, was associated with royalty, as was the elephant. In the brazen uchure of Eduboa, already referred to, an elephant is represented near the butt of the shaft with two leopards as supporters.

Apparently all indigenous animals conspicuous for qualities apt to inspire respect or terror came to symbolize the royal power; at least they were in the royal control. The elephant is beneath the feet of the king in the wooden uchure (Fig. 42) and in the brazen staff of Eduboa, the leopards in the latter stand beside the elephant supporter of the royal figure; and here the next figure, representing the king in his character of a powerful fetish, holds in each hand a crocodile by the tail. He wears on his head a spiked helmet shaped like that of the figure immediately above. It is of beadwork, as are also the high collar, a mark of rank, which encases his neck and chin, and the crossed baldrics upon his chest. Across his waist and depending head downward from it at either side he holds a twoheaded serpent, with a half swallowed frog in each mouth. From each side of the bottom of his kilt (beluku), which has a border



Ivory figurine. The beadwork collar and anklets are marks of rank.

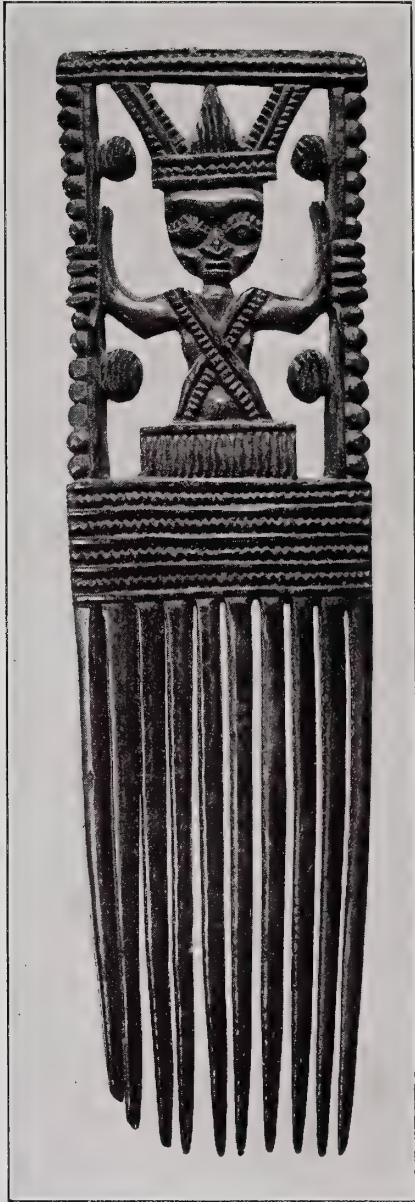
FIG. 51.

resembling the weave of the matting robe of the first figure, issues a catfish, the most commonly represented of the sacred animals of the Bini, and, seeing that it actually forms, as here, part of the body of the deified king, apparently the most sacred. The two fishes take the place of the royal legs. Between them is a wedge shaped object, which reference to the other of this pair of tusks shows to be, probably, an incompletely carved crocodile's head.

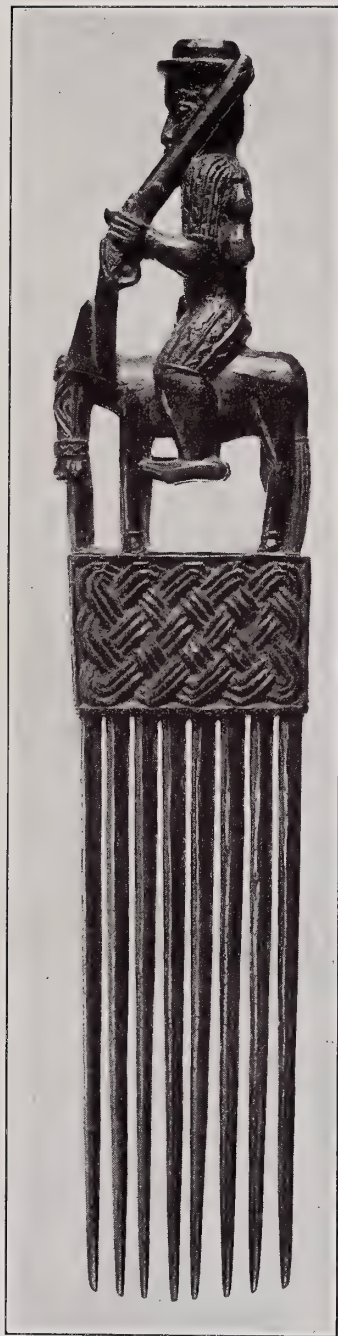
This mythic conception of a fish man has been, I think wrongly, attributed to European influence, on the ground that the early explorers were familiar with the idea of the merman and may have communicated that idea to the native artists. But this is no conventional merman with legs represented as fishes' tails; each leg is here a separate fish. Besides, the Bini are known to have believed that the king had the power of transforming himself into an animal; and, as may be seen from Fig. 49, and from many other examples in Bini art, the idea is common of animals or parts of animals being attached to the human body, especially as if issuing from orifices, as the nostrils, or, as it might be in this case, from the orifice represented by the bottom of the skirt. In any case we have here the king represented with some of his most powerful fetish attributes, and his superhuman character most clearly indicated by his semi-human form.

In Oyo, the ancient centre of power of the Yoruba, the artistically gifted people who gave to the Bini the founder of their royal line, the German anthropologist Frobenius found some years ago an old carved wooden utensil in the form of a fish, on which is represented a human face surmounted by a headdress like that seen in the comb (Fig. 52), and with two bent arms proceeding from the nostrils. Apparently the Bini notion of a composite superhumanly endowed being, the same notion as appears in the often recurring elephant's head with trunk ending in a human hand, is shared with the Yoruba, to whom the Bini owed much besides a dynasty.

Coral and agate beads, and, no doubt, imitations of them in glass, especially in a cylindrical form, were very highly valued in Benin. The finest were the property of the king. Headgear, bodices, baldrics, anklets, necklaces, the cumbrous chokers or collars encircling the neck and sometimes concealing the lower part of the face [cf. Figs. 37, 38 and 43] were made wholly or in part of beads strung on cord or wire. The collars and the anklets especially were badges of rank. Strings of beads, which perhaps formed part of the collars,



Ivory hair ornament.
FIG. 52.



Wooden hair ornament.
FIG. 53.

were conferred by the king on those whom he wished especially to honour. Loss of these gifts, or rather, loans, for they reverted to the king on the death of the recipient, was punishable with death.

In the next row the central figure wears a headdress without a spike but with streamers of beadwork like those that hang from the sides of the spiked headdress and with bead rosettes like those on the headgear of the large bronze heads (Figs. 32 and 38). His choker is extended downwards to form a sort of gorget that covers the upper part of his chest. This gorgetlike ornament appears also on the ivory figure, Fig. 51, which represents the wife of some important personage, perhaps of the king. The tusk figure is dressed in a smock reaching to his knees and decorated with a reticulate design probably representing beadwork. On his chest below the edge of the gorget are two bells. He wears anklets. In his right hand he carries a ceremonial knife or sword with a ring handle and a blade like a fish slice. This is known as an *ebere*. It was a mark of authority proper to all the chiefs of state, not only to the king. In his left hand he holds a great spear, point downwards. From his armpits hang two long wedge shaped objects, which a comparison with the corresponding figure on the other tusk of this central pair shows to be a sort of scarves forming a part of the costume. Between the butt of the spear and his head an object shaped like two wedges placed broad end to broad end is carved on the tusk. This may be an unfinished crocodile's head. One of the two figures of attendants in this group supports that hand of the principal figure which holds a spear.

It is not quite easy to determine who are represented in this group. Not only the king, but also the queen mother and the captain of war were entitled to have their arms upheld by attendants, a privilege of rank which is not uncommon in West Africa. The personage with whom we are here concerned is a man, which leaves us a choice between the king and his captain of war. Leopard's skin coats were worn by the latter functionary and apparently also by his attendants; and necklaces of leopards' teeth seem to have been insignia of warriors. It might be supposed that the attendants themselves represent the captain of war, duplicated in order to fill in a space, escorting and supporting the king. But in that case these minor figures would be, as they are not, furnished with chokers and anklets, insignia of the great officials, of whom the captain of war was greatest. It seems likely that this group represents the



Ivory armlet with figures of Europeans.
FIG. 54.



The other side of the armlet, Fig. 54.

FIG. 55.



Ivory armlet with figure of European horseman.
FIG. 56.

captain of war, with attendants wearing his livery of leopard's skin coats and leopard's teeth necklaces, guarding, as it were, the royal figure next below him and symbolizing, as its instrument, royalty's supreme position and power.

Just below the fetish king appears again. His headdress here has the form of that part of the conventional representation of a catfish which corresponds to the mouth and feelers. His right hand grasps an ebere, his left an uchure. Where the two headed snake crosses his body it is carved into the semblance of a chain with hexagonal links, probably an imitation of the markings of a python. The wedge shaped, faceted object between his catfish legs may be the representation of a thunderbolt celt. In the other of this pair of tusks a crocodile's head is placed in the same position.

The figure immediately below in the next group wears a jacket of beadwork with two horizontal bands across the front, one at the level of his armpits, the other across the middle of his body. A bell hangs below the upper band and a row of bells at his waist. He wears the choker, and has also a necklace of leopards' teeth, as well as anklets and bracelets. His beluku has a wide scarf hanging from the left side where the ends are caught up in regulation style, with a huge extension of the stiffened ends of the heavy cloth rising on that side to the level of his head. A beluku consists of several layers of cloth, of which the outer ones were arranged in this peculiar manner. The figure carries an ebere in the right hand and a spear in the left. This must be the king; a conventional elephant's head with trunk ending in a hand is carved beside his head and a crocodile's head beside his left leg. Perhaps the necklace and the spear show him invested with the powers which the captain of war derived from him as their source.

The chief figure in the next group is evidently the king again in a new conception of his character and powers. The spiked headdress recurs. His beadwork jacket is crossed in front by two baldrics; his skirt has a plaited border, like that of the first fish man described. He wears choker and anklets. From his belt hang three masks representing Europeans. A catfish depends from this belt at either side. This, together with the fact that his hands are supported by two attendants, seems sufficient to mark him as the king; there is no reason to connect the catfish with the captain of war.

Next below is a figure with three attributes of royalty: a leopard over his head, a catfish in each hand, and an elephant's head with the



Another view of the armlet, Fig. 56.
FIG. 57.



Ivory armlet.
FIG. 58.

conventional appendage of a hand, grasping an object which may be a feather, beside him on his right. His beadwork cap has short side-pieces, he wears the marks of rank on neck and arms and ankles, also crossed baldrics and a beluku caught up at the side by a leopard's head mask and with the wide stiffened upward extension.

Another indication of his royalty is that he is accompanied by a nude male figure. The king and the queen mother maintained at their courts a number of boys, so called, of all ages up to forty or thereabouts, who formed a privileged caste of marauders. They went naked until they were provided by their royal patron simultaneously with clothes and wives. This nude figure's right arm is held bent across his body, the hand grasping a snake the body of which extends upwards parallel with his left side, the tail forming a loop. The head of the snake lies across his thighs, or, more likely, is intended to be shown as holding that part of his body between its jaws, as the instrument and symbol of the king's power over his boys.

The snake is a powerful juju, and was elsewhere also associated with the king. On the roofs of more than one of the buildings in the royal compound, great snakes of bronze or brass lay head downwards above the doors. This is reported by the Dutchman Nyendaël who visited Benin City at the beginning of the eighteenth century. One of these snakes was seen in position by members of the British punitive expedition of 1897. A representation of one of the gates or doors occurs on a bronze plaque in the British Museum, published by Ling Roth [Great Benin, p. 94], in which the snake is shown on the roof. The large brazen snake's head, Fig. 50, probably belonged to one of these guardians of the royal precincts. "The tribal god [was] symbolized by a python in Benin City," says A. G. Leonard [The Lower Niger and Its Tribes, p. 279. London, 1906].

The lowest group contains two figures in the costume of Europeans of the sixteenth century. The chief features of the dress are a long belted tunic open above the waist in front and reaching to the knees, and long wrinkled hose. The headgear is a round hat with narrow brim, from underneath which at the sides long straight hair falls to the shoulders. The lineaments of the face are differentiated from those of the negro figures chiefly by the exaggeration of the lines of the eyebrows and the bridge of the nose, which are continuous. Europeans are usually represented with beards [cf. Figs. 54 and 55]. Each of these two figures carries in each hand a long pouch or purse, probably containing coins or cowries, as would be



Double armlet carved from a single piece of ivory.
FIG. 59.



Another view of the armlet, Fig. 59.
FIG. 60.

appropriate to traders. It is to be remarked, however, that these objects are usually said to be manillas, the horseshoe shaped ingots of copper which formed an important object of trade.

These figures alternate with those of two negroes whose costume differs in several respects from that of the other persons represented on the tusk. They both wear plain round hats with narrow brims, not precisely like those worn by the Europeans, but resembling more nearly the headgear of the bronze figure between the two central tusks. Like that personage each of them also wears a cross on his breast—perhaps the cross of an order, since we know that envoys and compliments and gifts passed between the rulers of Benin and of Portugal in the early years of the sixteenth century. In the case of the central figure of the group, the cross rests on his bare breast, while the cross of the other negro lies on a sort of gorget resembling, except for the absence of the markings which simulate beadwork, the collars of the figures in the third group. Instead of a breast ornament of this nature, the first figure wears something resembling a ruff, but no choker, though high rank is indicated by his anklets, a feature lacking in the costume of the second negro of this group. Both wear the beluku and carry staves with knobbed heads. Each carries also an object which has been variously described as an axe and as a key. In this particular also they resemble the large bronze statuette just referred to. This object is seen also in the right hand of one of the figures in the bronze group, Fig. 47. If this latter group departs from the general rule in depicting an actual scene, a hunting incident, the implement may be a hunter's weapon, perhaps an axe used in cutting up game. Since primitive weapons of war are usually not essentially different from those used in the chase, the weapon, if it is one, carried by the tusk figures may be a battle axe.

It is to be noted however that in General Pitt-Rivers's *Antique Works of Art from Benin* [privately printed, London, 1900], Plate 46, Figs. 363 and 364, shows a very similar object which is described as an iron hammer; and that in W. D. Webster's *Catalogue*, No. 21 [Oxford, 1899], Fig. 183 is an apparently identical "implement of wrought iron found in the smith's workshop" in Benin City. Captain Landolphe, an eighteenth century visitor to Benin, "when speaking of the iron and copper used to decorate the interior of the houses, says that all artisans who distinguish themselves in their craft receive a patent of nobility" [Ling Roth, *op. cit.* p. 230]. This



One of the two raised panels of the free inner tube of the double armlet, Figs. 59 and 60, which, projecting through holes in the outer tube, lock the cylinders together.

FIG. 61.

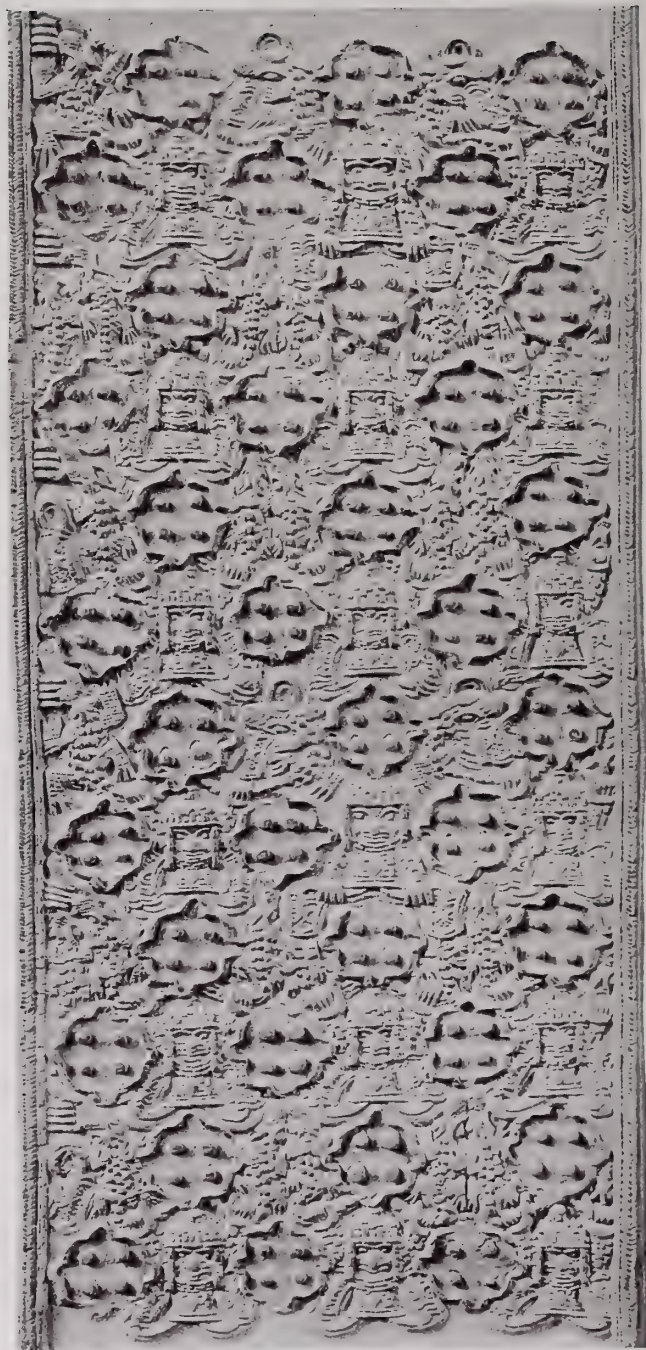


Ivory armlet.
FIG. 62.

passage contains what is, so far as I know, the only intimation, apart from Captain Roupell's list of Officials, that craftsmen might become persons of official importance. In that case their importance might be great enough to warrant their being given prominent or independent representation in the carvings and bronzes. There is no very obvious connection between an elephant and a blacksmith carrying a hammer, as in Fig. 47. But the hammer, together with the chisel, is an essential part of the equipment of the ivory carver; and it is possible that the figure with the hammer, if it is one, in the lowest row of the tusk carvings may be a kind of signature of the artist who executed them. In this case his relation to the animal which supplied him with his material may have been symbolized also in such groups as that of Fig. 47.

As for the crosses about the necks of the two tusk figures, of which the second, not having the insignia of high rank would, on the assumption just made, be an assistant to the more important craftsman in front, the occurrence of the Christian symbol in the costume of these two figures may perhaps find its explanation in conditions implied by the circumstances of the native tradition concerning the workers in bronze. Ahamangiwa's pupils would naturally be chosen from among Bini craftsmen who were already practised in sculpture; the new master must have been a Christian, and was probably closely associated with the Portuguese missionaries, if he was not one of them. His pupils would thus be directly subject to Christian influences and likely to adopt Christian emblems for their own use.

But this symbol, whether in the particular case Christian or not in its implications and history, was, according to a Portuguese writer of the middle of the sixteenth century [Joaõ de Barros, quoted by J. Marquart in *Die Benin-Sammlung des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden*, p. 52. Leiden, 1913], known to the Bini before the advent of the Portuguese. A certain king, he says, who ruled over a country far distant from Benin in the east, was wont to send to the king of Benin for his coronation certain insignia among which was a cross of brass to be worn about his neck; and the king was not considered as duly inducted into his high office until he was invested with this brazen cross. Among other objects received from the same source was a pilgrim's staff "in lieu of sceptre"; and if we are to accept as true the chronicler's statement, which he reports as having been made to King John II (1481-1495) by D'Aveiro, the first Portuguese visitor to Benin, and the Bini envoys whom the



Impression in plaster of the carving of the ivory armlet, Fig. 62.
FIG. 63.

latter took back with him to Portugal, it is possible that we have before us on the tusk a representation of the cross and staff in question.

In that case the figures with cross and staff must both represent the king; and we are confronted with the difficulty of explaining not only the fact that he is represented twice in one group and once without any of the usual marks of rank, but also the significance of either an axe or a key or a hammer being held in the royal hand.

The occurrence of European figures on the tusk may be referable simply to the general influence which the Portuguese had won at court. But it may be pointed out that on the assumption that we have here a symbolic representation of the activities of the royal artists, the presence of Europeans in this particular group is peculiarly appropriate in view of the probable close relationship of the Portuguese to this phase of Bini life.

The reference to the conferring of insignia by a distant overlord, whether or no this suzerainty is to be regarded as a sober historical fact, brings up the obscure problem of the relations of the Bini through their back country with civilized northern Africa towards the Mediterranean and the Nile. To the Portuguese, of course, the suzerain of Benin in the east was none other than his Christian majesty, Prester John, who has ruled at so many different times and places. One of his putative realms, Christian Abyssinia, though not of course as under his mythical rule, Dr. Marquart, in the work quoted above, regards as a possible early religious suzerain of Benin in the days before the African converts of Islam won the negroid principalities of the Sudan for the Prophet.

There can be little doubt that the negro kingdoms of West Africa owed certain cultural features to contact by way of the trade routes leading north and east with the civilized parts of the continent; but that the art of casting bronze by the *cire perdue* process was known to the Bini before their contact with the Portuguese in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, cannot at present be demonstrated. Sir Hercules Read remarked twelve years ago: "In the case of the panels from Benin [in the British Museum] the style of the art is unquestionably native, while the metal of which they are made has been shown by Professor Crowland's analysis [*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXVII (1897-1898), pp. 374-376] to be certainly Portuguese" [Note on Certain Ivory Carvings from Benin, *Man*, 1910, No. 29]. In view of the part unquestionably played by the Portuguese in Bini history four hundred years ago, in

view also of the fact that the only marks upon the bronzes themselves which bear unequivocal witness to definite foreign influences are the figures of Europeans of that period, and having regard to the result of the analysis of the metal, it is clear that the burden of proof of an origin other than Portuguese for metal working as a fine art in West Africa rests upon those who dispute the Portuguese claims.



Ivory bracelet.
FIG. 64.

Since the former Keeper of the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum wrote the words just quoted, the only fact that has come to light which might appear to be of sufficient weight to shake this position, was the discovery by L. Frobenius, between the years 1910 and 1912, in an abandoned burial ground in the northern Yoruba country, north-west of Benin, of a head of bronze and several in terra cotta of a

high order of workmanship, together with glazed pottery and bits of glass in a condition which seemed to the discoverer to point to the former existence of a manufacture of glass in that country and consequently, of a higher civilization than there is evidence for in any other part of negro Africa [L. Frobenius, *Und Afrika sprach*, Vol. I, p. 335 ff.].

The founder of the royal family of Benin came, according to Bini tradition, from the Yoruba country and from the very neighbourhood whence this discovery was reported; and if it was possible for a craftsman, probably an armourer of Portuguese or other European nationality, from a Portuguese ship, to reside in tabooed Benin long enough to establish there a school of artistic metal working, as the tradition indicates that he did, it does not seem improbable that the same teacher or his Bini pupils may have been responsible for the communication of the same and of other European arts to the Yoruban kindred of the family reigning at Benin. A small head in earthenware from Benin, in the manner of the older Benin heads in bronze like the one at the left of the altar and those shown in Fig. 39, is pictured in General Pitt-River's *Antique Works of Art from Benin*, Pl. 46. There do not seem to be any more important differences between the Yoruba and the older Benin heads than might be sufficiently accounted for by differences of local fashion in face cicatrization and other personal adornments.

Of the bronze heads, six, representing four chief types, are shown on the altar. Of these the most impressive in point of size and decorative intention are the two which stand one on each side of the group of bells and have the peculiar winglike appendages to the headdress and the still more singular stiffly wired ornaments of large beads which project in front of the face, and the ends of which in one case actually rest upon the eyes. That this stiff forward curve is regarded as essential may be seen in the case of the larger head from the struts which, cast in one piece with the beads and the head, keep the ornaments in place over the cheeks. In the other case the ends are free, and seem to have been cast in the position they now occupy, or bent into it, to prevent their being wrenched sideways or backwards out of the prominent forward position they were originally intended to have. The king whom the British deposed in 1897 wore at his trial one of these winged caps of beadwork, which, as may be seen from the quite realistic representation, are built up of bugles or cylindrical beads of various sizes.



Ivory casket.
FIG. 65.

The same material was used for the streamers composed of groups of these strung or wired bugles, and for the high collars or chokers. Even such details as the transverse placing of the terminal bead of a string, or the closing of a row with a bead of a different shape are carefully indicated. In one instance the very cord or wire which attaches an ornament consisting of a large cylindrical bead with a curiously shaped small flap depending from it to the left side of the cap on the smaller winged head is clearly shown. Towards or at the back of all the heads on the altar except that at the extreme left, one or more slender plaits, presumably intended to represent hair, hang among the beadwork streamers.

The head last mentioned, together with those illustrated in Fig. 39, is obviously representative of the oldest type of bronze castings. This is seen not only from the character of the fine dark green patina but also from that of the casting itself, the metal being much thinner than in the specimens which show plain superficial evidence of later manufacture, from the finer modelling of this type, and from the presence in the other heads of what are clearly newer decorative accretions and other modifications of style.

The brief period during which impressive products of artistic metal workers were turned out in Benin is, it seems certain, an interpolated great age, so to call it, appearing abruptly and passing through a rapid degeneration to extinction. The products of the brass workers on the West Coast of the present day have little in common with such fine work as is represented even in an already degenerate specimen like either of the two large heads in the middle of the row on the altar.

Comparison of these with Fig. 39 at once makes plain the differences in the style of modelling, showing how the Bini wood and ivory carvers, as soon as foreign influences had grown weak, applied the methods of their familiar technique almost without modification to their work in bronze, returning to the old stylistic treatment of salient features of the face which the less plastic medium in which they were accustomed to work had forced upon them. Compare the nose and lips of, say, the largest bronze head with the same features of the head at the left side of the altar. In the former they are, so to speak, stuck on, with but little effective effort to obliterate the angles that mark them off from the neighbouring region of the face. The older artist, on the other hand, manipulated the wax with considerable skill in preparing his mould, smoothing

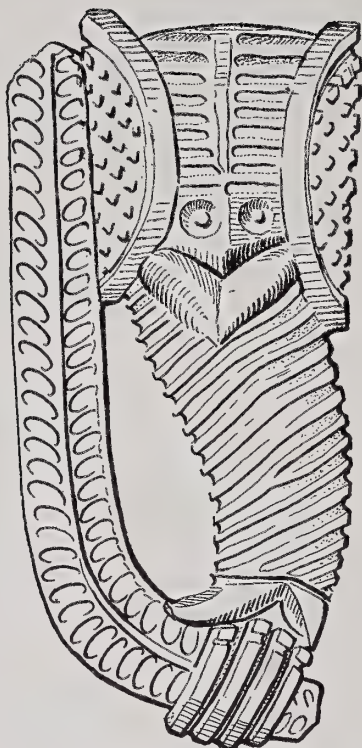


FIG. 66.



FIG. 68.



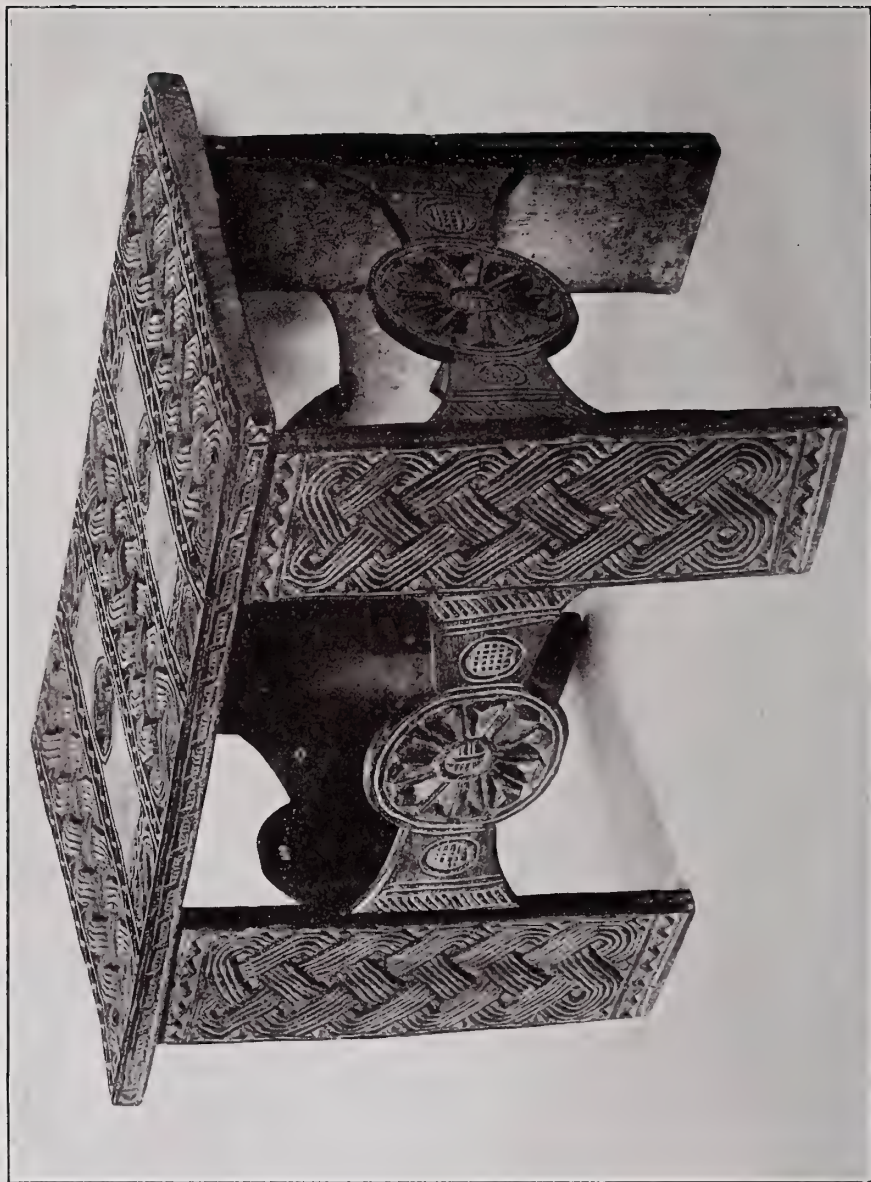
FIG. 67.



FIG. 69.

out angles so that the sides of the low bridge of the nose merge imperceptibly into the gentle curves of the cheeks. With a deftness of touch and movement by no means unrefined he has shaped without grossness of suggestion a head unmistakably negro—rather as if he had purposely refrained from an exaggeration of traits which in uncontaminated negro art are emphasized without self consciousness. The remarkable prognathism of the face is not concealed, but is, as it were, apologized for by the smoothness of the contours given to it. Even such a carefully observed detail as the depression running back from the outer corners of the orbits to the temples has not been shirked, rather it has been softened. Everything points to a purposeful idealization of a negro type which is not at all characteristic of a negro artist. All this has been forgotten in the later heads in favour of a return to the blunt directness of the woodcarver with, for instance, his traditional trick of turning out noses like fat inverted T's and mouths composed of pairs of juxtaposed parallelepipeds. His conventions are well seen in the rattle staves (Fig. 42); in the ivory figurine (Fig. 51), in the tusks, and in the casket (Fig. 65) the same characteristics are to be observed.

The fading out of European influence is marked by some interesting developments in the later bronze heads. The head on the left is quite evidently less suited to be a pedestal for a tusk than any of the others on the altar. Apart from its rather insignificant size as compared with that of the object it supports, there is too great a contrast between the forward slope of the face and the strong vertical thrust of the lower part of the tusk. This structural error—which was, in fact no error at all, if, as we have seen to be probably the case, the heads were originally not intended to be associated with the tusks in this manner; it only became one with the change in their destination—this fault has been corrected in the later heads in a manner which speaks well both for the ingenuity and the taste of the later artists. The retreating forehead which with the cap is to become the immediate base for the tusk with its steep upward thrust has been itself made vertical, while the characteristic forward slope of the lower part of the face has been preserved, meeting below, however, the long vertical line of the choker, so that the impression received from the whole is of a suitably massive base, the direction of whose long axis is identical with that of the contiguous part of the object which that base has to support.



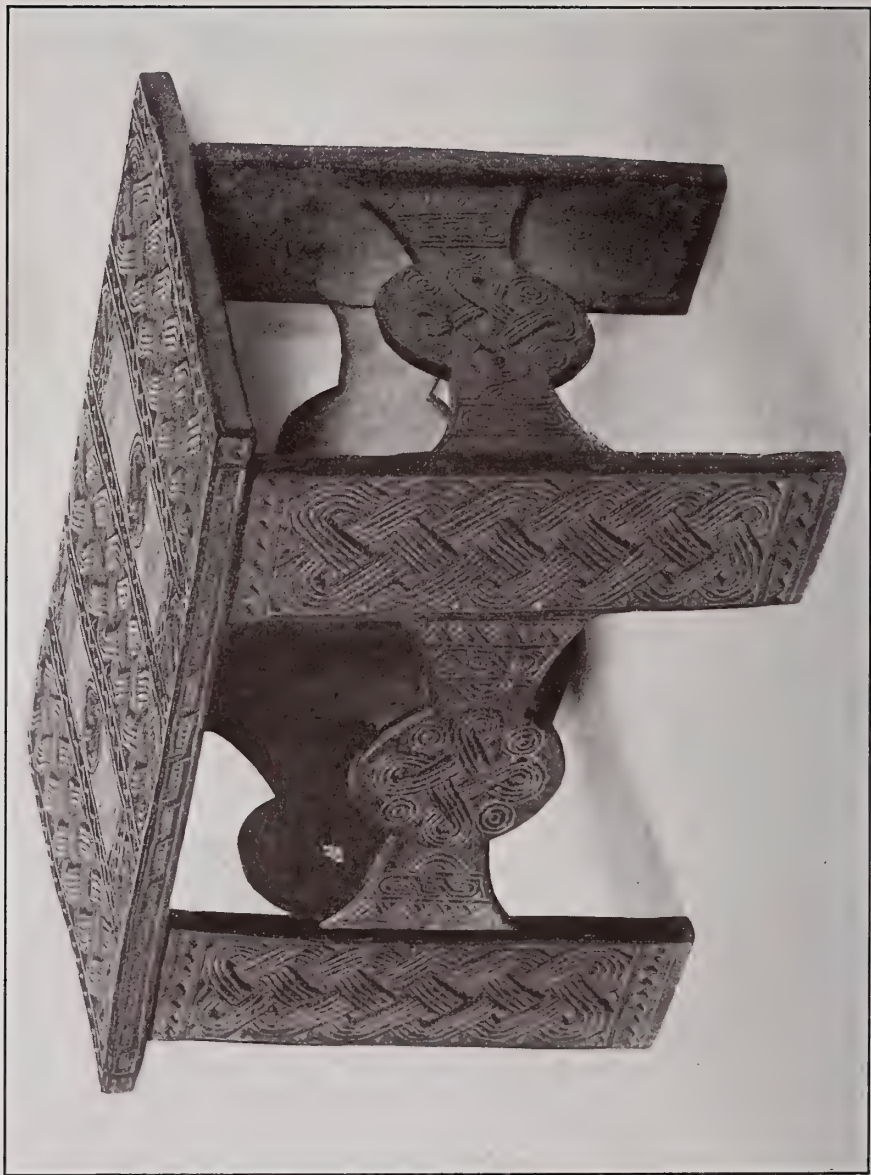
Wooden table.
FIG. 70.

The choker itself has been greatly enlarged from the simple closely fitting collar of beads, and a flange has been added which gives an effect of greater stability to what has now obviously become, from an object sufficient to itself and independent, a pedestal broad based for the support of the towering ancestral emblem. The elaboration of the headdress with its appended streamers and wings emphasizes the passage from the early realistic phase of the bronzes to one largely decorative in intention.

It is only in this sense that the winged heads can be said to be degenerate. They are, in fact, viewed as examples of negro art, more authentic and impressive than the early heads. They represent a return to old methods in a new medium, and illustrate well the naïve, bold, and direct treatment of line and disposition of masses by which the negro artist reaches the broad effects he aims at, and by means of which he produces what may be called racial portraits, recognizable and impressive composite portraits, so to speak, of his own racial type. The two heads which flank the central ones on the altar may perhaps be regarded as of a transitional type marking the gradual reversion towards the older conceptions and methods in the treatment of the features of the face, which are modelled more in accordance with those of Fig. 39 than is the case in the winged heads.

The flange at the base of some of the later heads carries in low relief representations of various objects which occur on the tusks, on the other bronzes, and in the wood work. Thus, on the flange of the large winged head there appear, on a ground covered with a guilloche ornament, two leopards, a celt, three ox heads, two frogs, two objects the nature of which it is difficult to determine—perhaps they are catfish—and, occurring four times, a bent arm holding a three pronged object.

It is possible to show by figures taken from various specimens in the Museum that this bent arm is derived from the conventional Bini method of representing an elephant's head with its proboscis terminating in a human hand. The nearest approach to realism is seen in the head of the elephant in the uchure (Fig. 42). How this becomes slightly modified in a representation in relief may be seen in the mask in Fig. 49, an example of the peculiar convention referred to on p. 131. A further degree of conventionalization is shown in Fig. 66, a drawing of one of the figures on a tusk now on exhibition in the Museum but not figured here. Figs. 67 and 68,



Another view of the wooden table, Fig. 70.
FIG. 71.

both drawn from the tusk which stands on the larger winged head, illustrate two further stages in the progressive loss of detail leading to the extreme simplification of the upper part of the figure seen in Fig. 69, which is from the flange of the base of that head. The eyes, lost in Figs. 67 and 68, are preserved in the otherwise more simplified form of Fig. 69. Finally only the tusks remain to suggest the origin of a device which is in the final stage of simplification to all appearances nothing but a bent human arm surmounted by a chevron which might be put down as an epaulet if we had not before us the other links in this chain of degeneration. Ling Roth [op. cit., p. 225] calls attention to this transformation but does not illustrate its stages.

This device of the bent arm, the development of which we have thus traced from its beginnings to its final form exclusively within this province of native art, has been derived by M. Buchner [Benin und die Portugiesen, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, XL (1908), p. 984] from Morocco, by no direct overland route, but via Portugal and the Atlantic, as a familiar heraldic figure. Herr Buchner is one of the inquirers into the origins of Bini art who will allow to the Bini themselves scarcely any claim at all to a share in these origins.

Between this attitude and the position that the style of the bronzes is purely negro—a position that does not seem to me to be tenable in the face of the modelling of the older heads and even of some of the figures of the plaques, notably the legs of the man in Fig. 44, there is a happy mean, the case for which is well put by O. M. Dalton in his review of *Great Benin* [Man, 1903, No. 108]: "External influences there undoubtedly were, but they need not be supposed to flow from too many points of the compass. . . . Natives who were presumably skilful in carving wood and ivory would find a transition to a tractable material like wax a very easy matter if they had capable instructors; their best work would be produced almost at once while the effect of the tuition was still fresh. . . . The examination of any large series of castings, such as the panels at the British Museum, does not justify the assumption of a pre-European period, long or short; the very abruptness with which the most admirable work appears on the scene is really an argument for the European hypothesis rather than against it. Indeed one of the three panels in the series which have the appearance of greater antiquity than the rest and are marked by a peculiar restraint of treatment not at all characteristic of purely native art actually represents an European."



Batons (left, brass; right, bronze) such as are carried by figures in some of the carvings and metal work.

FIG. 72.



Ivory baton. Each of the con-
joined faces in the ornament
at the top has an eye in
common with its
neighbour.
FIG. 73.

Three especially interesting objects are among the remaining examples of Benin art which are pictured here—a bronze group, an ivory casket, and an ivory armlet.

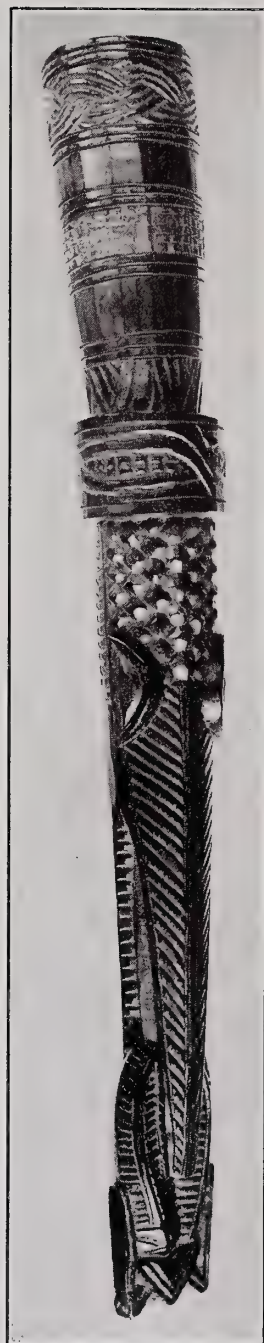
The principal figure of the group (Fig. 48) is a kneeling man. He wears the *beluku*, his body shows the linear cicatrizations, about his neck is a cord from which are suspended what appear to be four bells, one resting on each shoulder, one on his chest and one on his back. His wrists are bound, his hands held together in front of his body in an attitude of supplication. His legs also are bound or manacled at the ankles. Around his middle is a cord to which were formerly attached, at his back, the ends of two other cords by which the arms of the two female figures behind him are bound. Two other figures of which only the legs remain, and which, judging from the size of these surviving members, were on the same scale as that of the principal figure, flanked, one on each side, the two kneeling females. In front of the large kneeling figure are represented, on the rectangular, much battered base, a crocodile, a tortoise, and between them in a boat shaped receptacle a lashed bundle of indeterminable nature. On each side of this figure along the edge of the base are placed four severed human heads. The group evidently represents three victims ready for sacrifice; such victims were sometimes slain in a kneeling posture, or were allowed on certain occasions to beg their lives in this supplicating attitude.

There is a bronze group in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, which Dr. E. A. Hooton [*Benin Antiquities in the Peabody Museum, Harvard African Studies, I, p. 134*] considers as representing "the king and his female attendants standing behind the sacrificial pit, witnessing the decapitation of human victims whose heads and bodies were thrown into the pit." This interpretation appears to rest chiefly on the fact that there is a "square aperture in the pedestal immediately in front of the king" which is taken to represent the pit into which, as we learn from several accounts, the bodies and sometimes the heads of decapitated victims were cast. But square apertures in the castings with these slablike though not solid pedestals seem in fact to be structural, designed to save metal and lighten the weight of the object. The aperture in the pedestal of Fig. 47 and in those of the bronze cocks previously referred to can hardly be explained in any other way; they can scarcely be sacrificial pits. On the other hand we might, on Dr. Hooton's supposition, expect



Head of a staff in bronze. The crocodile headed snake holds a crocodile in its jaws.

FIG. 74.



Ivory head of a staff. A
catfish in the jaws of a
crocodile.
FIG. 75.



Head, in wood, of a goat or
antelope.

FIG. 76.

one in the pedestal of Fig. 48 from the nature of the scene represented; but it is not there.

The ivory casket shown in Fig. 65 was formerly the property of Sir Ralph Moor, who was Consul General and Administrator General of the Niger Coast Protectorate at the time of the punitive expedition to Benin. The carving on the lid represents a struggle between two Europeans, presumably for the possession of the pangolin, or scaly anteater, which is tethered to a peg beside them. On the background are carved a square faced bottle, no doubt a factor in the quarrel, and two closely associated objects, perhaps a brace of catfish

tied head and tail. A string of cowries and one of beads within the plain moulding round the rim of the lid of the casket frame the picture.

The heads of the mutually half strangled combatants have been placed by the carver in his attempt to represent the effects of the struggle so that the long axis of the face is at right angles to that of the body, the bodies being shown in an attitude which is a strange compromise between a profile and a full face view. Curiously enough, this posture of the head is the same as that by which is represented the attitude of Europeans when taking aim with a crossbow, as shown in one of the subsidiary figures on the largest



Wooden figure of a catfish holding its tail in its mouth.

FIG. 77.

carved tusk. In the latter instance a leopard is associated with the European, which is also the case with the European figures of the armlets, Figs. 56, 57 and 58. The dreaded beast is evidently an attribute of the redoubtable white man as it is of the king.

The ivory armlet, Figs. 62 and 63, is a masterpiece of toreutic art. The grotesque mythic figure of the king with his catfish legs is here treated as the principal unit of a decorative pattern. With each hand he grasps the tail of a crocodile. The limits imposed by the narrowness of the spaces between the metal buttons, which have fallen off, involve an extreme compression of curves which would have resulted in an awkward crowding of the figures but for the ingenuity

with which the carver has met his difficulties. There are six horizontal rows of three figures each. In two cases the figure is so squeezed between the buttons that the heads of the catfishes have had to be turned downwards, and there being no room for the crocodiles, the hands of the king are also directed downwards to clasp his legs. In two places on the left margin of the armlet a catfish, and in



Wooden powder keg covered with embossed sheet brass. The stopper is a monkey's head in wood.

FIG. 78.

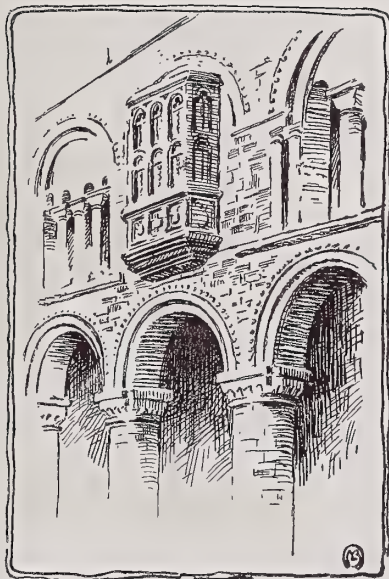
two others a crocodile, are placed between the crocodiles held up by the king and the border of the armlet to fill in small gaps. A human hand issues from the mouth of each principal crocodile along this margin. At the right margin the crocodiles, through lack of room, have had to be cut down to a head and the tip of the tail, but there is no mistaking them for what they are, with such skill has the carver suggested the essentials of form so simply and clearly delineated elsewhere.

On the plaques, Figs. 32, 43, 44, 45, and 46, which appear to have been used for the adornment of the pillars and walls of the king's, perhaps also of the queen mother's, residence, the figures represented are of the same general character as those described from the tusks. The central figure in the largest plaque—the one at the left above the altar—is probably a king, as was pointed out in the discussion of the tusk figures, since he is accompanied by two nude boys. Fig. 45 appears to represent two celebrants at the sacrifice of an ox. Their costumes are identical. The figure on the left, holding the severed head of the ox, has removed his sword with the baldric from which it is suspended and given it to his companion, who holds it beside his own with the baldric swinging. Neither figure has special marks of rank. Their necklaces of leopards' teeth may indicate that they are of the following of the captain of war. A fragment in Fig. 49 shows a figure carrying in one hand a single wand, in the other three. These are probably the king's taboo wands, referred to in the description of the tusks. All the plaques have a foil ornament engraved on the background. In the case of Fig. 46, in addition to the heads of Europeans engraved on the beluku of the figure, there is in low relief at each corner of the plaque the head and torso of a European with long hair, wearing a ruff and doublet, and, apparently, blowing a horn. The feathers worn in the caps of some of the plaque figures may have a religious or fetish significance. Certain fetish chiefs and priests in the Benin country wore feathers as a part of their headdress; and we have seen (Figs. 49 and 66) that they are carried by the fetish elephants.

H. U. H.

ANCIENT LONDON

BY
G. B. GORDON



PRIOR BOLTON'S WINDOW
IN ST. BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT

I like London. The flow of life in the streets, sublimer than the tides of the sea, gives me a stimulus. The climate suits me better than any I ever lived in and I have never seen civilization at so high a level.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL



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FOREWORD

A city teeming with life, however ancient, does not rouse the interest of archæologists like the mounds of Memphis or the sand-buried cities of the Gobi Desert. In the most populous city of the world, which is also one of the most ancient, life is too absorbing for the detached frame of mind that attends the pursuit of archæology in depopulated districts. Who can remember, in the midst of so much life, the records of past ages that lie in layers beneath his feet, or project his mind into the Age of Bronze? Only, once in a while, a group of buildings are removed and the contractor may burrow thirty five feet through those compact layers before he reaches his levels, to lay the foundations of a bank. London has monuments in the light of day, not unknown and not inconspicuous in history, but what sort of man will dwell long on them when he may contemplate history in the making? On the Nile banks or even in Rome, life does not intrude itself between us and antiquity and in either place it is easy to detach ourselves from the present. But in the City of more than seven million souls life is too vivid, too insistent; its claim is too strong. Its movements, moreover, are adjusted to the quickened pulse of an age impelled by thoughts and reflexes impatient of the past. It is as hard to think of the beginning of London as it is to think of the beginning of Time; but it had a beginning and to lay bare that beginning is as much a task of archæology as to lay bare the beginnings of Babylon, though the task may take a different form. It may take a different form because the clues may be found imbedded in life itself. The threads of history are not cut; they are continuously woven into patterns that are always changing with life's movements. Amid these movements the ancient monuments stand unchampioned or yield to pressure and dissolve into the rising ground on which the life of London recreates itself in the image of its gods. But Life itself, ceaselessly remoulded in accordance with a fixed tradition that outlasts all monuments and discounts all change is as compact of antiquarian lore as the strata on which the pavements rest. Life itself and not so much the ancient monuments or the unexplored fathoms below, invites exploration and rewards research. Wall and moat, keep and castle, crypt and tower and aisle, treasure trove and relics in Museums—all these serve only to accentuate and symbolize

the living pageant of history. The life of London goes on apparently oblivious of its past and heedless of its history, but it goes on secreting tradition as an organ secretes a product peculiar to itself. And the secretion crystallizes into custom, and custom regulates life and the subconscious cycle is complete. And it all looks very simple and it is less expensive and less afflicting than amateur legislation and perhaps we will all possess the secret when we get to be as old as London is—but I doubt it for it is compounded of something more than antiquity.

These chapters are the substance of some lectures given to the Public in the University Museum last winter and spring. There is no pretense at anything like completeness in the picture. There could be none, for one might go on forever. The localities selected for crystallizing some of the thoughts that crowd around them are among many easily visited or known to everyone. They are, like every spot in London, crammed full of human interest. The names of places supply the key even when no trace of the past remains between the pavement and the sky.

Students who have made long and careful study of London may find errors or points of disagreement in these pages but where it is a question of historical fact I have been careful to keep in the company of recognized authorities. I would like to acknowledge all the sources of information to which I am indebted, but I can only give a partial list of the books in which my reading has been done. They are for the most part standard works.

I hope the interest of my friendly audiences in the University Museum, for whom these lectures were first prepared, will be equal to this additional test. Their kind reception of these lectures has led me to offer them in their present form and to include in them some additional matter that I had to omit or merely suggest on the occasions to which I refer.

G. B. G.

LIST OF SELECTED BOOKS

- John Stow—A Survey of London (1598). The great work on Mediæval London and the first History of the City. It contains a translation of the Latin description written by Fitzstephen, a monk of Canterbury, in 1174 in his *Life of Thomas à Becket*.
- John Strype—Edition of Stow (1720).
- Phillip Stubbes—The Anatomie of Abuses (1583).
- Samuel Pepys—Diary (January 1660–May 31, 1669). The diary was written in cypher. Discovered in 1825 in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, it was translated by Rev. J. Smith and incomplete editions were published in 1875–79. In 1893 the whole diary, edited by H. B. Wheatley, was published for the first time, with the exception of certain passages considered unprintable.
- William Maitland—History of London (1759).
- John Entick—A New and Accurate History of London, Westminster and Southwark (1766).
- The City Remembrancer—Narrative of the Plague, 1665. Narrative of the Fire, 1666. Narrative of the Storm, 1703. Published in 1769.
- Walter Harrison—A New and Universal History of London (1775).
- J. W. Abbot—A History of London (1821).
- Thomas Allen—History and Antiquities of London (1829).
- Thomas Wright—A continuation of the last (1839).
- William Smith—A New History of London (1833).
- Charles McKay—A History of London (1838).
- John Timbs—Curiosities of London (1855). New Editions published in 1868, 1875, 1876.
- Sir Walter Besant—The Survey of London (1902–1908).
- H. B. Wheatley—The Story of London.
- Jacob Giles—Laws and Customs, Rights, Liberties and Privileges of London.
- H. T. Riley, translator—Liber Albus, The White Book of London.
- W. & R. Woodcock—Lives of the Lord Mayors.
- Major Arthur Griffiths—The Chronicles of Newgate.
- H. B. Wheatley and Peter Cunningham—London, Past and Present.
- Reginald R. Sharke—London and the Kingdom. A History derived mainly from the Archives of the Guildhall (1894).
- Sir Laurence Gomme—The Governance of London (1907).
- Sir Laurence Gomme—The Making of London.
- E. Beresford Chancellor—Annals of Fleet Street.
- Philip Norman—London Vanished and Vanishing.
- P. H. Ditchfield—The City Companies of London and their Good Works.



A VIEW OF STRAND LANE LOOKING TOWARD THE STRAND.
AT THE RIGHT IS THE DOOR LEADING TO THE
STEPS THAT DESCEND TO THE ROMAN BATH

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ANCIENT LONDON

In some parts of London we may go back through the whole English history, perhaps through the history of man.—LEIGH HUNT.

I

THE GEOLOGY OF LONDON

THE accumulations that mark the progress of a city are closely related to the geological sequence in the earth's surface. Cities may even be regarded as very recent and very minute parts of the geological record. They are laid down in strata corresponding in their history to the life that successively dwells in them. When this life has ceased to exist they present characteristic outlines and well marked features of the landscape. They then take the outward form of rounded elevations subject to denudation by rain and wind and all the forces that mould the hills and valleys. An ancient city long deserted, like Troy or Memphis, looks like a low hill that by its isolated position and rounded contour betrays its character to the accustomed eye. Excavations made in the hills that once were cities full of life reveal a succession of layers each containing relics of the former population that may be compared to the fossils in the rocks by which geologists determine the age of the different strata in the earth's crust. The age of each layer in the city hill may be determined by the corresponding traces of the works of man, such as iron, bronze, copper, writings, coins, sculpture, pottery, worked flints.

The formation of a city is a result of a congregation of human life persisting continuously throughout a period of time. In its ultimate configuration that formation consists in its substance of the



The Ruins of Nippur in Mesopotamia. A Typical City Hill

works of man and his bones. The geographical factors that determine the site of a city are themselves closely related to dynamic geology and to forces that are as old as the earth. There is no break in the continuity from the time of the nebula to the deserted city and its obliteration by the forces of erosion. But the period of a city's existence is so infinitesimally minute that it could not be shown on any possible chart of the geological sequence.

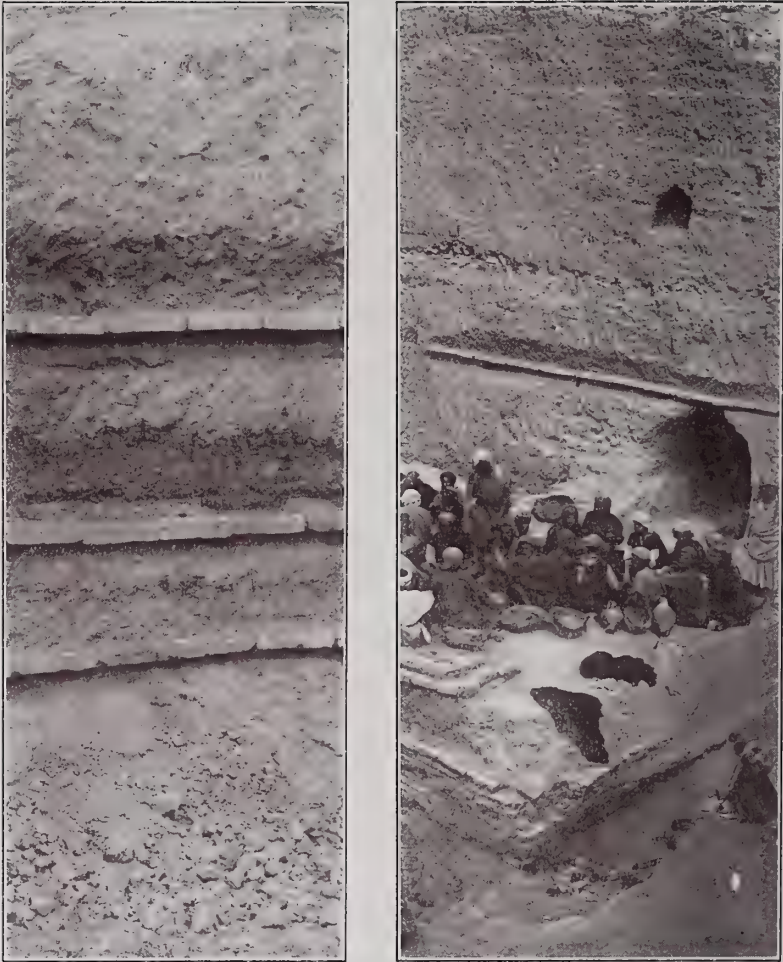


Ruins of Bethshan, Palestine; the Acropolis. The Entire Elevation Consists of Stratified Deposits Corresponding to Successive Periods of History

London is a product of the Thames and the history of the Thames valley takes us back to the early part of the Tertiary, called the Eocene. The Thames valley is scooped out of Eocene strata that conform to the layer of chalk on which they rest. This chalk bed is 650 feet thick and above it the Eocene strata attain a total thickness of about 300 feet at London. The lowest of these Eocene strata, the Thanet Sand where it rests on the chalk is two hundred feet below sea level under Charing Cross. Over the Thanet Sand lie the Woolwich and Reading beds 50 feet thick. Then comes the London Clay 142 feet in thickness. The London Clay is capped by the Bagshot Sand of which a patch on Hampstead Heath is all that remains in London. The rest has been removed by erosion.

All of these Eocene beds were laid down in shallow seas. Like the chalk below them they are of marine formation and contain tropical fossils indicating a warm climate. The London Clay is rich in palms, crocodiles, and large serpents. At the end of the Eocene, England had risen above the sea and was joined to the Continent. Owing to this elevation there are no deposits in England corresponding to the middle Tertiary or Miocene. During the late Tertiary or Pliocene, the land still remained above water except a part of the eastern counties which again sank beneath the sea and therefore have Pliocene deposits. Through a valley that is now the English Channel a river of which the Thames was a tributary flowed. Traversing the great plain that is now the North Sea this river entered the Arctic Ocean. The Tertiary ended about five hundred thousand years ago.

The Quaternary is the name given to the relatively short period that has elapsed since the end of the Tertiary. The climate of England which had been warm was turning cold by degrees at the approach of the Great Ice Age. This Ice Age was not a single phenomenon but a series of four glacial periods with warm intervals between, beginning about 500,000 years ago and ending about 50,000 years ago. The first of the ice sheets that have left their mark on the land advanced from the Pole as far as the Thames valley. When it retreated after many thousands of years the glacier left the land strewn with sand, gravel, clay and boulders, the *débris* of the mountains over which it had passed during its advance. These deposits choked up the rivers, forcing them to cut their way through or find new channels. In the first Interglacial Period after the first ice sheet had retreated, the Thames was 150 feet above its present level with



Two Cross Sections of the Hill of Nippur Showing the Stratified Formation

reference to the land and its valley was much broader than it is at present. Flowing in much larger volume than now, it transported quantities of sand and gravel left by the glacier and, washing them over and sorting them, deposited them on its flood plains. These deposits can be seen today as high as 150 feet above the present level of the river on the high terrace that corresponds to the first Interglacial Period.

As the second ice sheet advanced, Britain sank in large part below the sea that was strewn with icebergs. A glacier again advanced as far as the Thames valley, now submerged below sea level. When in the course of ages this ice sheet retreated, two things happened. England rose again till the land surface stood about

two hundred feet higher than at present and another deposit of *débris* was left on the land. Then the rivers began again their work of cutting through these deposits, and at the same time they transported and redistributed the Glacial Drift on their flood plains. All this time the Thames, like other rivers, was cutting its valley deeper and deeper into the old Eocene beds. During the second Interglacial Period the hippopotamus, the elephant, and the rhinoceros advanced north again and lived in the Thames valley, showing that the climate must have been warm. Their bones have been found where they left them about two hundred and fifty thousand years ago.

In its third advance the ice sheet reached only as far as the Midlands, but the climate was even colder than during the previous periods of maximum cold. The Thames valley with the south of England had then an extreme Arctic climate and was inhabited by the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros and other Arctic animals. When at last the climate grew warmer again and the third period of glaciation was over, the deposits of glacial *débris*—sand, gravel and clay—acquired still greater thickness and the rivers were forced to renew their work of sorting out, transporting and redistributing the sands and gravels. In this third Interglacial Period the Thames had cut its valley down to its present level, a distance of more than 150 feet since the beginning of the Quaternary. In fact, during the third Interglacial Period, all of the valleys were about as they are today, but the coast line was very different, for England was still joined to France. The terraces formed by the Thames in successive ages, as it had gone on excavating its bed that grew always narrower and deeper, were more clearly defined in the third Interglacial Period than they are today for they had not been smoothed off or covered with loam. The third Interglacial Period was succeeded by the Fourth Glacier which simply repeated in a general way the action of the others. The third Interglacial Period ended about one hundred thousand years ago, and the fourth and last Glacier ended about fifty thousand years ago. During the Postglacial Period that followed, different things of great importance were taking place. To understand these it will be necessary to have a clear understanding of certain of the events that preceded. The phenomena attending the Great Ice Age with its warmer intervals, embracing a stretch of half a million years since the close of the Tertiary, are extremely complicated, but a relatively simple sequence of events concerns us

in particular. It will be recalled that between the first Interglacial Period and the third, the Thames had finished the work of excavating its bed downwards to its present level, a distance of more than one hundred and fifty feet, and that in the course of this major work it was performing also a minor task in conveying the débris of the land left by the glacier, sorting it out and depositing it in the form of beds of sand and gravel on its flood plains at different levels. As the valley deepened and narrowed, its banks presented a series of terraces, corresponding to the Interglacial periods and carrying beds of the Drift. Then the lateral or tributary streams carrying the drainage of the banks cut into these beds, lifted and transported once more the Glacial Drift, shifting it to lower and lower levels down to the present river banks. It is therefore distributed over the slopes of the valley today in deposits of varying size. It should be remembered that in their origin these gravels are of different ages, and that the Thames is much older than any of them. If I understand what geologists have to say of it, the Thames is the oldest river in England, though most of them existed before the Ice Age.

The street called Holborn gives the key to the origin of London. The word is made up of Hollow or Hole and Bourne, a stream. The stream in the hollow. That little stream now hidden beneath the City once started something that led to the founding of London. That was about the time when men first found themselves on the earth not knowing where or what they were, "whence thither brought or how."

One of the tributaries of the Thames that performed the later work of transporting sand and gravel was this Hole Bourne, called on its lower course the Fleet. During the third Interglacial Period, the Fleet, a larger stream than today, helped to carry down from the upper slopes and deposit along the bank of the Thames a bed of gravel about twenty feet thick. It extends about two miles back from the Thames where it tops a bank nearly fifty feet high. Since the formation of that bed of gravel the Fleet has directed its course straight across the deposit and has there excavated its narrow channel down through the twenty feet of gravel and into the clay beneath. Its chosen course was such that the land on its left bank rose sharply and that on its right bank more gently. Its left or Eastern bank was therefore steep and the land after reaching its maximum elevation fell away gradually towards the River Lea. Where it began to fall away the gravel bed was again intersected by

a small stream, the Wallbrook. That gravel bed on the high bank between the Fleet and the Wallbrook determined the exact position of London.

One factor remains to be accounted for, the presence of men. In the third Interglacial Period a race of men roamed the banks of the Thames with the mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros and the Arctic fox. They made implements of chipped flint, rather rudely shaped but requiring a good deal of skill and intelligence. They belonged to the early part of the Old Stone Age in human history. Imbedded in the Glacial Drift on the banks of the Thames are found the remains of their industry of a hundred and fifty thousand years ago. These men were of the Neanderthal race, regarded as a race distinct from and inferior to the one from which we are descended and believed by some authorities to have become extinct in early postglacial time, owing to the pressure of another race that followed the retreating ice sheet of the fourth Glacial Period, moving with the advancing warmth and with the warm fauna from more southern latitudes. This new race was of superior type and intelligence but its characteristic industry, like that of its predecessor, was that of working flint by means of chipping. That industry differs from the preceding simply in showing greater variety and ingenuity. The people of this new race belonged to the upper Old Stone Age of human history and they are called the Cro-Magnon race. They entered England and replaced the Neanderthals between forty and fifty thousand years ago. They had no difficulty in reaching the Thames valley from Europe, for England was still joined to the Continent by a land bridge, an isthmus which, however, was growing steadily narrower.

We are not concerned further with these two races of men. They hunted and fished on the site of London but they were not builders in any sense of the word and they never made for themselves anything like permanent habitations or even settlements that might grow into cities or towns. They appear to have dwindled and declined and some people believe that they disappeared altogether from England before their successors arrived, but there is no necessity for believing in their total disappearance. We now come to a movement with which we are more directly concerned.

About twelve thousand years B.C. an entirely different race made its appearance in western Europe and in its turn invaded the Thames valley. These were the men of the New Stone Age. In

addition to a highly developed industry in chipped stone they had developed the art of grinding hard stones to desired shapes. They had domestic animals and they made permanent settlements and cultivated cereals. They came with their herds by the same route as the races that preceded them, for England was still connected with the Continent. But a geological change of the greatest significance was slowly taking place. England was sinking and the encroaching sea gradually altered the coast line. At last the valley of the river into which the Thames had flowed since the Miocene became submerged and Great Britain became an island. The land continued to sink till quite recent times. The English Channel was formed about six thousand years B. C. The Thames was formed in Miocene or Pliocene times, several million years ago, long before there were men of any description upon the earth.

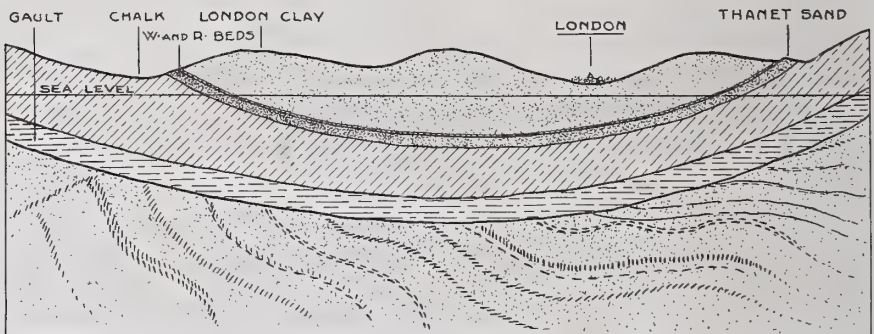
As the land continued to sink, it brought the level of the Thames valley nearer and nearer to the level of the sea, thereby retarding its current and sending the tides farther and farther up its course. Since a river cannot run in a channel that is below sea level, the Thames at the lower part of its course, began to lay down deposits in its bed to maintain itself above sea level. The level of the Thames below the city of London was once some twenty five feet under its present level and the continuation of the Thames valley can be traced for many miles under the sea. Moreover the encroaching ocean converted the mouth of the Thames into a long deep estuary that gives a deep seaway to a point far inland. This situation, affording ready access to the sea from an easily defended point in the interior, was one of the first factors in the making of London.

But another factor was so decisive that it fixed the site of the City to within the fraction of a mile. If you will take an imaginary journey up the river from its mouth about the time of the arrival of Neolithic men, when the Thames already flowed directly into the ocean but a narrowing neck of land formed a bridge to the Continent, the country on either side of the river will present to your observation a low marshy tract, subject at times to inundation. At no point does higher land approach close to the river till you have reached that spot on the north side where a broad and elevated terrace advances to the bank of the river and is cut off on the west by the steep slope that descends to the Fleet. Going up the Thames this bank is the first ground that affords the requirements of occupation. In other words, going down stream it is the last suit-

able place of settlement. It has already been explained how this bank is topped by a layer of gravel twenty feet thick. That gravel rests directly on the London clay, a stiff tenacious substance impervious to water. The gravel bed receives the rains and absorbs them, and when they reach the clay underneath the absorption is stopped. The gravel therefore acts as a receptacle for water and the clay beneath acts as a watertight bottom to that receptacle. Hence the gravel bed is always charged with clear fresh water while presenting a firm dry surface. A well sunk a few feet in that gravel affords a good water supply. Where the London clay comes to the surface in the surrounding river banks and parts adjoining, no water is to be obtained and the ground has remained devoid of buildings till waterworks were introduced. For ages the stored water of that gravel bed was the water supply of London. When that natural supply became contaminated by the presence of the City, holes were bored down through the London Clay to the old Thanet Sand, the oldest of the Eocene strata, lying between the London Clay and the Chalk. Now it so happens that the great Chalk bed is bent like an elongated shallow dish with its bottom directly below the Thames. It is the bottom of a long fold. The Chalk does not absorb water readily and the Thanet Sand, spread over the sides of the fold and sloping in like manner on both sides, is between the impervious Clay above and the Chalk below. It can therefore get no percolation from above and its charge of water is not drained into the Chalk. It gets its charge of water at the points where it comes to the surface, for its curvature brings it to the light and air many miles to the north of London and many miles to the south of London. At these exposed edges the rains are absorbed by the sand and, by force of gravity, are carried down the sloping sides of the dish till they are concentrated three hundred feet beneath the Thames, and are there under pressure owing to the dip of the stratum below and the impervious character of the overlying stratum of Clay. Therefore when holes were first bored at London down about three hundred feet through the London Clay to the Thanet Sand, the water came up with a rush through the bore holes. Thus a new supply of water was tapped and this is still a considerable part of London's water supply. But the City's first water supply was the readily accessible store in the surface gravel, that might be tapped by twenty foot wells.

The considerations that determined the site of London were the following. (a) The River Thames. (b) The high bank at the

junction of the Thames with the Fleet. (c) The gravel bed that gave a firm dry surface with a ready water supply directly underneath. The first would have been useless without the second and the second would have been useless without the third. It was an ideal site. When the earliest settlers were attacked they assembled with their cattle within their enclosure where they had a water supply that could not be cut off. Moreover they were protected on the West by the steep bank of the Fleet, on the East by the Marshes of the Lea and on the South by the Thames itself. The first real settlers, the people who first chose the site for permanent occupation, were the people of the New Stone Age, who as I have said, arrived in England about twelve thousand years B. C. At what date they established themselves at any given point we have no means of knowing. We have no reason to suppose that this race ever became extinct and it follows that they form an element in the present population but their blood is very much attenuated and they have disappeared as a distinct type.



Cross Section of the Thames Valley and Country Adjoining on a North and South Line Through London

II

MEN OF THE STONE AGE, CELT AND ROMAN

LONDON'S CONTINUITY

In the days before the antiquarians and the scholars began their violent invasion of the provinces held so long by the bards and the sages, everybody accepted the legend of the founding of London written down by the old Welsh churchman and historian, Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the twelfth century. According to that venerable ecclesiastical authority London was founded by Brute, a grandson of Aeneas, who escaped from Troy at the fall of that city, sailed away with a band of followers, landed in Britain, conquered the race of giants he encountered there and founded New Troy, afterwards called London. We may not believe that story any more but it is such a brave old lie that I always like to tell it.

The picture of London that I have in my mind and that I wish I might present to you is not exactly the London you know so well, the metropolis of brick and stone with its weather stains, its grey sunshine and its fog, but rather London as a living organism with its continuity of life and its persistent tradition. We do not realize what a very old place London is because its history is largely unwritten and it is not yet a ruin where excavations are made to reveal how it rose, layer resting on layer and cycle on cycle. But it is not antiquity alone that matters. What I want to call attention to is rather that continuity which has persisted without break from the beginning. There has been no conquest, no revolution, no cutting loose from the past. That is fundamental, the enduring essence of London life. I often hear it said that London has experienced vital changes even in our own generation. This is a careless observation, for London has not changed at all and the connection between Chaucer's London and the London of today is a very close connection.

We must bear in mind that the name London has two principal and quite distinct applications at this day. First it is the name of the CITY* that lies within the ancient boundaries of London Wall together with a narrow encircling strip. It is identical with the

* For the sake of clearness I shall use capitals wherever the word occurs in this sense.

city built by the Romans, including the Pomerium or sacred belt outside the walls on which the Romans did not permit any buildings to be erected. That is the CITY OF LONDON. It is what Londoners call the CITY. Its chief magistrate is the Lord Mayor who within his own boundaries takes precedence of every other subject of the Crown, even of the Royal Princes. It is the London that the King himself may not enter without permission of that same Lord Mayor. It is about a square mile in area and its resident population is less than fifteen thousand. In the daytime except on Sundays, its population swells to more than a million. A million people pass into that square mile at the beginning of every day to their regular occupations and pass out again in the afternoon. It is the London of the Tower, the Bank, the Royal Exchange, the Mansion House, the Guildhall, the houses of the Livery Companies, and Saint Paul's Cathedral. It is the heart of the Metropolis that is built around it covering 693 square miles and containing a population of seven and a half millions. London the Metropolis consists of the CITY OF LONDON and twenty eight boroughs together with an outer ring.* The CITY has its own government, its own constitution, its own police, its peculiar customs and privileges and its ancient prerogatives that have been inherited from Saxon and even from Roman times. It has always had its own military establishment called the Trainbands—Trained Bands recruited and officered from the citizens.

"John Gilpin was a citizen of credit and renown
And a Trainband Captain eke was he in famous London Town."

These ancient military organizations now form seven units in the Regular Army and no regiments in the British Army gave a better account of themselves in the World War than these same old London regiments.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the walls of London were standing and you entered through one of the seven gates—Newgate, Bishopsgate, Ludgate, Moorgate, Aldgate, Aldersgate, Cripple-gate.† Today the walls are down and the gates are gone but you can always tell when you are within the CITY by looking at a police-

* Besides the CITY and the Metropolis, there is also the County of London which includes the CITY and the Boroughs but which is itself swallowed up by the Metropolis. It is now proposed to add another outer ring to come within the jurisdiction of the London Board of Health. This will give to London a population of over 9,000,000.

† On the River side were two gates, Bridgegate and Billingsgate.

man, for the CITY police wear red and white bands on their sleeves and crested helmets whereas the Metropolitan police outside the CITY wear blue and white bands on their sleeves and helmets without crests.

LONDON'S DIFFERENCE

The earliest traveller who gives a detailed description of London is Fitzstephen who wrote in the twelfth century. I will quote just one sentence translated from the Latin original by John Stow, the Tudor antiquarian. "In London the calmness of the air doth mollify men's minds, not corrupting them . . . but preserving them from savage and rude behaviour and seasoning their inclinations with a more kind and free temper." In this and other quaint passages, Fitzstephen records his observation that London is not like any other place. Many writers since have made the same observation and everyone who knows London at all is aware of its unexampled difference. George Borrow expresses what everybody feels when he says: "Everything is different in London from what it is elsewhere. The People, their language, the horses, even the stones of London are different from others."

Fitzstephen, in the passage I have just quoted, explained it as an effect of climate but I think it can be shown that the difference is due to another cause altogether. It is elemental and primordial; it proceeds from within; it lies deeply imbedded in the foundations of life itself; it concerns the very sources of London's existence and it is written in every chapter of London's history. It is a difference as elementary and as obvious as that of gender. London is a masculine city. All other cities are of the feminine gender. Paris is feminine; Rome and Vienna are feminine; Berlin is feminine; Petrograd and Moscow are feminine and New York is also a feminine city. London is the one and only masculine city and moreover it is the most masculine of all things made. Every man feels better in London than in any other city on earth and the reason is that the manhood in him responds and vibrates to the virile drift that whirls about him like the cosmic stream of which worlds are made.

There is but one recorded capture of London, when it was taken by a woman. Boadicea has the unique distinction of being the only person who ever conquered London. Have you ever thought why the suffragettes tried to capture London and let other cities alone? Simply because London is a he city. Those violent women knew

perfectly well that if they tried the same methods in Paris or New York, these cities being feminine would know exactly how to deal with them. London didn't know in the least how to deal with them.

In the London Museum, among the relics of the Stone Age, there is a case containing some bones of a man with a flint spear head sticking in his skull. I understand that these are the melancholy remains of the first unfortunate wight who tried to start something in London. His imitators in every age shared a similar fate till the suffragette arrived, and then . . . But the masculine mind works that way.

Compare the London police with the police of any other city you know. The London policeman wears soft gloves; he carries no club and he has no weapon of any kind about his person, either concealed or unconcealed. In Paris the policeman is armed with automatic pistol and club, one in either side of his belt. In Berlin before the war at least the policeman carried a huge sabre and a monstrous pistol slung about his haunches. In New York—but I need not multiply examples. The difference is one of gender. The masculine mind recoils from even the appearance of violence and brutality. Therefore the London policeman wears soft gloves and carries about his person no suggestion of force. The feminine mind reacts in an entirely different way and therefore these other cities dress up the guardians of the law to make them look like brigands and permit them to behave a good deal worse sometimes. They love the appearance of force; they adore the gesture of violence; they flaunt the emblems of brutality. These cities are of the feminine gender.

A man likes to wear fine feathers and walk in procession through the streets or sit in lordly state. If you doubt it observe the habits of the Lulus or look at the House of Lords. All male creatures are alike in this. The stag's antlers are not for fighting but for show. Thus London arrays itself in royal purple, in scarlet and in gold, decks itself with feathers, puts on its gorgeous raiment and moves in the stately procession of the Lord Mayor's Show and all its pompous pageantry—the plumage and the antlers of the harmless male.

London has another obvious quality. It is a silent city. It is more than that—it is one of the silent places of the earth. James Russell Lowell said that London reminded him of the roaring loom

of Time. I know very well what he meant and the only fault I have to find with that admirable rhetoric is that London does not roar.* The stream of traffic rolls in silence over its wooden pavements that are laid like the foundations of the earth and kept like the quarter-decks of the Royal Navy. Stand on the curbstone in front of the Royal Exchange facing that open space, with the Bank on the one hand and the Mansion House on the other. It is the place or near it where the Forum of the Roman City stood, and it is said to be the busiest spot in the world today. Upon that open space converge seven main thoroughfares filled with traffic and its lines of communication are the circumference of the earth. What are your sense impressions? A mass of traffic of every description, a policeman, a few magic passes of his hand and from the appearance of inextricable confusion the traffic rolls in and out through its seven main arteries without interruption, smoothly, silently. There is a mighty murmur that neither rises nor falls; subdued, continuous, steady, insistent, like a psalm intoned. There are no pauses; neither are there any sharp intrusive sounds to strike across that even pulse or shatter that majestic symphony—London's Psalm of Life. No clatter, no cries, no horns, no noise. It is a silent city.

I do not know that it has ever been said that London is a beautiful city. That could hardly be said with truth. Parts of it are hopelessly ugly. Its monuments, with a few remarkable exceptions, are indifferent or mean. Yet bits of it are among the most beautiful spots on earth and in certain atmospheric conditions peculiar to itself it takes on a quite unearthly splendour. It is not like Paris, that city of splendid broad boulevards and wide open spaces all beautifully laid out like the ideal city of the future. I do not know how any city could be better laid out than Paris. There you have a contrast, for London is not laid out at all. It has no plan and I am persuaded that it is better so, for the English, when they plan anything, are apt to make a mess of it but they have a wonderful way of doing things remarkably well by accident; and London, devoid of plan and heedless of design, is a most splendid accident—like Orion and the Milky Way. It was no human prevision that made London what it is; it was "Time and the Ocean and some fostering Star."

* Neither does a loom. The printing press roars as it spews its blatant miles of inky pulp, but the power loom hums a tune, a distaff tune learned long ago at cottage firesides.

LONDON'S BEGINNINGS

If you would get a comprehensive view of what Time has done for London, go to the London Museum in Stafford House, Saint James's, and if you would see what the Ocean means to London, pay a visit to London Dock or take a journey through the Port of London that stretches for thirty miles along the Thames from London Bridge to Tilbury Dock.

London Museum is like Time's Workshop, filled with the refuse left behind by the Master Craftsman. Stuart, Tudor, Plantagenet, Norman, Saxon, Roman, Celtic Briton, Man of the New Stone Age, Man of the Old Stone Age. There you have them all, following each other in a long procession down the ages till they disappear in a Tertiary London fog.

The first people to build on the banks of the Thames where London stands and protect their settlement with earthworks and stockades were the men of the New Stone Age, and they occupied the site for a period of unknown duration. But the time came when these men who fought and hunted with flint spearheads were driven from their stronghold by a new race that appeared from across the channel. The invaders had bronze swords and axes and shields and the natives with their flints, however brave, were no match for so formidable an enemy. These supermen with their new inventions, so mighty in battle, were of the Celtic race which swarming into the Island, soon possessed it, submerging the aboriginal inhabitants and absorbing the remnant. They arrived not later than 2000 B. C. and on the spot where the Walbrook and the Fleet ran into the Thames, they built a stronghold on the higher ground and, on the marshy flats next to the river they built their dwellings, partly on piles. They called the place London, which in the ancient Celtic language means the Stronghold in the Waters, because they were partly surrounded and protected by the Thames which was not then confined within its embankments as it is today, but which at high tide overflowed a wide strip of marsh and at low tide left a broad expanse of mud. But I think they must have consulted the stars when they called it London—Stronghold in the Waters. They worshipped, among other divinities, a god of the waters called Lud, and they built him a shrine on the high ground where Saint Paul's now stands, and the name of that god is preserved in the name of Ludgate Hill. The name of London therefore and its earliest foundation take us back not less than 4000 years.

These ancient Britons of the Bronze Age had cattle and horses and sheep; they cultivated the land and mined tin and traded with the Continent. During many centuries before the Romans came, London was an important commercial centre as well as a Stronghold in the Waters.

The point has never been definitely settled as to whether Julius Caesar ever saw London or not. On the evidence it seems very doubtful. In any case it is certain that when Caesar withdrew after four months in the Island, London remained exactly as it had been and continued to grow in size and importance and in the volume of its foreign trade. It had a gold coinage, iron had replaced bronze and chariots were used both in war and in peace. London was a flourishing and a populous city before England was again disturbed by the Romans. That happened in the year 43, ninety eight years after Caesar's first landing and in the reign of Claudius when Britain was finally conquered and the Romans began that rule and colonization of the Island which lasted nearly four hundred years. During this conquest of 43, London was occupied and a Roman administration installed. In its Latinized form it became Londinium and the very first time that the name appears in writing is where Tacitus tells us of the capture and burning of London and the massacre of its inhabitants by the British Warrior Queen in the year 61, only eighteen years after the Roman occupation.

Immediately after Boadicea's revolt had been suppressed, the Romans started to rebuild Londinium and to provide for its defense. They renamed it Augusta but even they found that you can't change anything in London. It was then that the Romans built the wall and put a new bridge across the Thames. Romans and Britons then settled down together in peace with occasional outbreaks for four hundred years. They intermarried and their offspring are still in London as in other parts of Britain. Under that joint régime London became one of the largest and most important cities in the Roman Empire, a colonia managing its own affairs, very much as it does today, for the Roman Imperial Authorities never interfered with the affairs of a city of London's importance. It was in reality a State in itself and that fact is at the foundation of London's present constitution. The continuity is unbroken. In 410 the Roman legions whose presence was necessary for the defense of the province were withdrawn owing to the general stress upon the resources of the Empire. London, like the other cities of Britain, was left to defend

itself against the Anglo-Saxon invasion which quickly ensued. Then follows a period in London's history that has puzzled all historians. Unlike the other cities of Britain, it disappears from history for nearly two hundred years. During that interval of Anglo-Saxon Conquest and Settlement, London is not mentioned at all in the Saxon chronicles though the events of that conquest including the occupation of other cities are all duly set forth. Some modern historians have interpreted this silence as meaning that London was deserted when the Saxons arrived. According to that view, it stood silent and ghostly within its massive walls beside the Thames and was therefore avoided by the Saxons as a place haunted and accursed. This theory seems incredible from every point of view and other historians have advanced a theory that meets with more and more support as time goes on. It is argued that the silence of the Saxon chronicles can be reconciled with known facts only on the supposition that London simply shut its gates on the invaders, carried on within its walls, and made such a formidable show that the Saxons decided to leave it severely alone. They settled all around and built their villages on the outskirts. Kensington, Paddington, Islington, and all the places with names ending in -ton and -ham were Saxon villages. Finally when the whole country was occupied, when Roman and Briton settled down peaceably with the immigrants, the Saxons were admitted to London on peaceful terms and they gradually assumed their part in the government of the City, introducing their own customs, which continued for centuries to dispute supremacy with the governance of the old Roman City State, Londinium Augusta.

When London is finally mentioned in the Saxon chronicles after nearly two hundred years of silence, it is in the year 604. London is then identified with the East Saxons. It is a part of the Kingdom over which Ethelbert ruled. Ethelbert, the convert of Saint Augustine, had become a Christian. A Bishop was installed in London. Saint Paul's had just been built, but London was still largely a Pagan City and after the death of Ethelbert and his nephew Sebert, Sebert's sons renounced Christianity and sent the Bishop to exile in Gaul. His faithful converts however were allowed to keep up the forms of Christian worship in Saint Paul's.

Nearly three centuries later, when the Danish invasions began, King Alfred repaired the walls of London and made it his base of operations against the Danes by land and sea. After the death of

Alfred, the struggle against the Danish invasion continued and London withstood half a dozen Danish sieges in the next hundred years. At last the great Canute, the last and greatest of the Danish leaders, having made himself master of England with the exception of London, concentrated all his resources, naval and military, against the stubborn city on the Thames. The Witan of England had already elected Canute King, but within its closed gates, the Witan of London elected Edmund Ironside King. Then came that heroic year of struggle between Edmund Ironside and King Canute. The siege of London was fierce and of brief duration, for Canute, with his ships sunk and his army shattered, was driven to take refuge in another part of England. It was a wonderful year, that year of Edmund Ironside, but at its end, Edmund died and the Witan of London reversing its former policy, elected Canute King and having brought him to London, crowned him at Saint Paul's. That is characteristic: first they knock their enemy down, then they pick him up and shake hands with him, and offer him the best they have. In this instance the citizens never had occasion to regret their choice, for next to Alfred, Canute proved to be the strongest of their kings. The Danes settled between the City and Westminster, especially in the region called Aldwich. The Church of Saint Clement Danes in the Strand marks the place where these Danish settlers had their place of worship.

King Canute died in the year 1035 within thirty years of the Norman conquest, a short interval that it is very important to remember for it means that when William arrived, there were many men living in London who had helped to defeat Canute and afterwards to make him king.

At the battle of Hastings London was represented by its Sheriff at the head of its citizen army that went out and fought at Harold's side all day long and when the day was lost, Ansgar, the Sheriff, covered with wounds was carried back to London in a litter. After the battle William marched straight on London where he found the gates closed and the walls manned. After taking a look at the walls, he made a wide circuit and leaving the City far behind, set up his headquarters at Berkhamstead. London was not afraid of William and he knew better than to attempt what Canute, with much more formidable forces had failed to do. Eventually a deputation of London citizens waited upon the Norman Duke and offered him the Crown on conditions, all of which he accepted, whereupon

they escorted him to London to be crowned, but whereas Canute had been crowned at Saint Paul's, within the City, William was crowned without the City at Westminster Abbey, where every sovereign since his time has also been crowned, and to this very day, the King of Great Britain and Ireland and of the Dominions beyond the Sea, Emperor of India, after being crowned at Westminster asks permission of the Lord Mayor of London to enter his own capital. It is especially worthy of note that William's Chief of State, the man who, next to himself, was the most powerful man in the Kingdom was Ansgar the Sheriff of London who was carried on a stretcher from the battlefield of Hastings.

LONDON'S OLDEST MONUMENTS

When we look about to see what remains to meet the eye in London streets from the earliest periods of its history we find that there is little enough, for the process of pulling down and rebuilding has gone incessantly on with much destruction by fire since the day when Boadicea left the City in blood and ashes nearly two thousand years ago.

One of the very oldest works of man that has successfully resisted the action of time and continues to do service is the Thames Embankment, a wonderful work of unknown origin and antiquity. It is a great system of earthworks lined with stone running from London Bridge down both sides of the River to its mouth—more than two hundred miles of embankment to keep the river within its bounds, reclaiming the marshy land and converting it into tillage. There is no record of its construction, and it is probably a growth of ages, having been begun by the ancient Britons of the Bronze Age.

Another very ancient work to be seen outdoors is the tumulus on Hampstead Heath popularly called Boadicea's grave. In this case popular tradition seems to be at fault for it is difficult to explain how the queen could have been buried at this place. The tumulus is undoubtedly the grave of some king or chieftain of the ancient Celtic Bronze Age Britons and it is therefore pre-Roman, but more than this we cannot say.

But the very oldest object in London streets is London Stone, which under that name has been closely identified from time immemorial with the fortunes of the City. We are looking at the outer wall of Saint Swithin's Church in Cannon Street at the point where London Stone is so deeply imbedded in the Church wall that it can

hardly be seen. The oddest thing about London Stone is that no one knows what it is and therefore I am going to tell you all about it. What we know about it historically amounts to this. In an early Saxon document it is reported to have been mentioned incidentally, a certain property being said to lie adjacent to London Stone. The Mediaeval Kings after their coronation used to strike London Stone with their swords in token of the City's submission and you will



London Stone

recall that in Shakespeare's play of Henry VI the rebel Jack Cade rides into the City and striking London Stone with his sword pronounces that famous speech beginning "Now is Mortimer lord of this City." It was originally a tall upright stone deeply imbedded in the ground but time and the weather and London fires have reduced it to a stump, a mere fragment. It stood in Cannon Street and when Christopher Wren was building the Church of Saint Swithin's after

the fire, London Stone was imbedded in its outer wall, protected by a stone casing reinforced by an iron grill and securely sealed by virtue of its traditional sanctity. Geoffrey of Monmouth accepting and handing down a legend of his day tells us that London Stone was the pedestal of the Statue of Diana in Troy, and having been brought to Britain by Brute and his companions became the Sacred Altar of New Troy. But London Stone is much older than that. It was an object of great antiquity when the Romans arrived and their predecessors the ancient Britons found it on their arrival more than two thousand years before. It was erected by the people of the New Stone Age and belongs to that class of standing stones found in different parts of Britain and the Continent that from time immemorial have been respected as objects of venerable and sacred associations. To this feeling London Stone owes its preservation. It is a monument of the Stone Age and the oldest thing in London Streets today.

At a depth of from twelve to twenty five feet below the present pavements are the ruins of Roman London and wherever excavations have been carried to these depths, some relics of Roman life have invariably been found. In the London Museum, the Guildhall Museum, and the British Museum, you may see beautiful mosaic floors that belonged to Roman houses, as fine as anything of the kind found in Italy. You may see statues in marble and bronze, and a great deal of domestic furniture, and every appurtenance of trade and industry as well as the materials of commerce. A Roman galley sixty feet long, dug up from the banks of the Thames, at the Surrey end of Westminster Bridge, is among the most interesting exhibits of Roman London.

Besides these rich collections in the Museums some pieces of the Roman wall remain in position. The largest piece, not far from the Tower, is enclosed in the structure of a huge warehouse, for which reason it is not readily visible to the visitor in London. It is about 120 feet long, 35 feet high, and 9 feet thick. On its top the battlements are still in place and the footway where the sentry used to walk is still intact. In London Museum you can find the spear, short sword and shield used by the Roman sentry and the very shoes in which he walked the battlements.

In a vault deep under ground, below the General Post Office, is the stump of a huge Roman bastion, a grand and imposing relic that conveys a vivid impression of the strength of the Roman walls

and the magnitude and importance of the City. There are still a few fragments of the Roman wall in positions where they may be seen by the wayfarer in the streets, such as that bit within the wards of the Tower, or the fragment at Saint Alphage London Wall which serves as a foundation for the houses that shut in the old churchyard of Saint Alphage. There is another bit at All Hallow's in the Wall and another in the old Churchyard of Saint Giles Cripplegate.

Opposite the little church of Saint Mary le Strand is Strand Lane, a narrow passage leading down toward the River. Walk down about twenty paces till you see on your left a small wooden



St. Alphage London Wall. Showing a Piece of the Roman Wall
Under the Modern Buildings

door in the stone wall of an old house. On that door in faded letters, you may read the legend "Roman Bath." Push open the door and descend a flight of steps within till you come down to the Roman level and there you will find the only Roman bath to be seen today in London. It was a private bath belonging to a Roman villa that stood at a distance outside the walls. It is still supplied by a spring of clear cold water and until a few years ago, it was used by a club as a plunge bath. This private bath* and the few fragments of the Roman wall are all that is left in position of the opulent city of Londinium Augusta.

* I am told that there are some remains of more elaborate Roman Bath beneath the Coal Exchange but I have not seen it.

III

SOME MEDIÆVAL MONUMENTS—THEIR ASSOCIATIONS

SAXON AND DANE

Of Saxon London, few traces are to be seen today except in the Museums. The Chapel of the Pyx together with adjoining parts in Westminster Abbey, remnants of the work Edward the Confessor executed in the Norman style, is almost the only preconquest edifice that I know in London. As for the Danes, you will find in the Guildhall Museum a single Danish tombstone, the only relic of the Danes that has ever been found in London.

THE TOWER

The Normans however have left us enduring monuments, of which the most famous and the most imposing is the historic Tower. There was an ancient British fort, a Roman fort and afterwards a Saxon fort at the point where the Tower stands, but William the Conqueror built the Tower not as a fortress to defend London but as an argument to convince London and to confirm his authority over the City. William never felt quite secure in his new capital. He couldn't forget that his invitation to be crowned carried with it certain reservations and conditions and that his tenure of the crown depended on his good behaviour for which he had given solemn pledges before his coronation.

William's first official act as king was to confirm these pledges in a State document still preserved in the Guildhall. It is the shortest State document in existence, and is usually known as London's first Charter. It is written on a strip of parchment about six inches long and an inch and a half broad. There are four and a fraction lines of text in the English language.

"William the King greets William the Bishop, and Gosfrith the Portreeve, and all the burghers within London, French and English, friendly; and be it known to you that it is my will that ye shall be possessed of all your rights according to the law as it was in King Edward's day. And it is my will that every child shall be his father's heir forever. And I will not endure that any man offer any wrong to you. God keep you."

There is no mistaking the meaning of that, and it is perfectly clear that it was dictated by the Londoners themselves. I am convinced in fact that the language used is the language of that same Ansgar, sometime Sheriff of London, William's Chief of State, who was carried from Hastings field on a stretcher. It simply confirms the ancient customs, rights and privileges of London as they had been hitherto observed. It is a more eloquent document than the later Magna Carta, often erroneously and extravagantly called the First Charter of English Liberties. So far as I can discover there never was a time when the Londoners did not have a distinct understanding



Entrance to the Tower. Bloody Tower and Wakefield Tower

with their rulers that they would do just about as they pleased, and so long as that understanding was faithfully observed on the part of the ruler they have ever been the staunchest of loyal subjects.

Let us return to William's great keep. The Tower was first of all a Royal residence, a fortified castle which might protect the City or maintain itself against the City. Like other keeps it had accommodations for prisoners. It was enclosed by a wall with bastions and towers and surrounded by a moat. In the middle stands the great Keep called the White Tower, the core of the whole formidable plan, with its walls fifteen feet in thickness. The White Tower is used now as an armory and it contains also the Chapel of Saint John,

the oldest church in London. Among the towers that encircle this Norman Keep one of the most interesting is Beauchamp Tower where famous prisoners left inscriptions carved on the walls. In the Wakefield Tower are kept the Royal Regalia. The crowns, scepters and swords of State do not include any that is of earlier date than Charles II. All the old Regalia of England, including the crown of Alfred, was taken from the Tower by the Commonwealth government shortly after the death of Charles I and destroyed. The Tower is English History. The heritage of its enduring walls is the sum of England's tragedy during several centuries and the



Room in Beauchamp Tower where Famous Prisoners left their
Names Carved on the Walls

theme of her darkest story. But what excites my amazement when I read the history of the Tower is not the long list of distinguished names of its victims but the wonderful spirit that pervades the whole grim business. A queen, Katherine Howard, awaiting her execution at dawn, has a block brought into her room in the night to rehearse her part in the morning's performance. Lady Jane Grey—sixteen, innocent, beautiful, accomplished, spent her last night writing a letter to the father whose ambitions had brought her to the scaffold. There could be no nobler document than that tender letter,—lines of cheer and comfort and not a tremor from beginning to end. A few days later that same father, the Duke of Suffolk, was himself

brought to the block on Tower Hill. Carrying himself with great dignity and composure he addressed the crowd. He made no plea, no complaint, no attempt to exonerate himself, no charge of wrong or injustice, no repentance, no self pity. He had played and lost and that was all there was to it. He ended his speech by saying there would be some in the crowd who would feel like praying for him and he wished to thank them. Then occurred one of those little comedies with which men are so apt to mix their tragedies. A tradesman standing in front of the crowd spoke up and said,—“But Sir, how am I going to get the money that you owe me?” The Duke replied,



The Chapel of St. John in the Tower

“You come to me at an awkward time. I must refer you to my executors.” And as he laid his head on the block, who knows but his last sensation was a feeling of grim satisfaction that for once in his life he had evaded a creditor.

There were two scaffolds, one within the wards of the Tower on Tower Green and the other outside on Tower Hill. Most of the executions took place on Tower Hill, but Anne Boleyn, Lady Jane Grey, the Countess of Salisbury, Katherine Howard, the Earl of Essex were executed within the wards on Tower Green at a place that is marked by a plate in the pavement.

The Tower has been long neglected. No Sovereign has lived there since James I and for more than a hundred years no State prisoner passed within the gates till the World War. Then the old

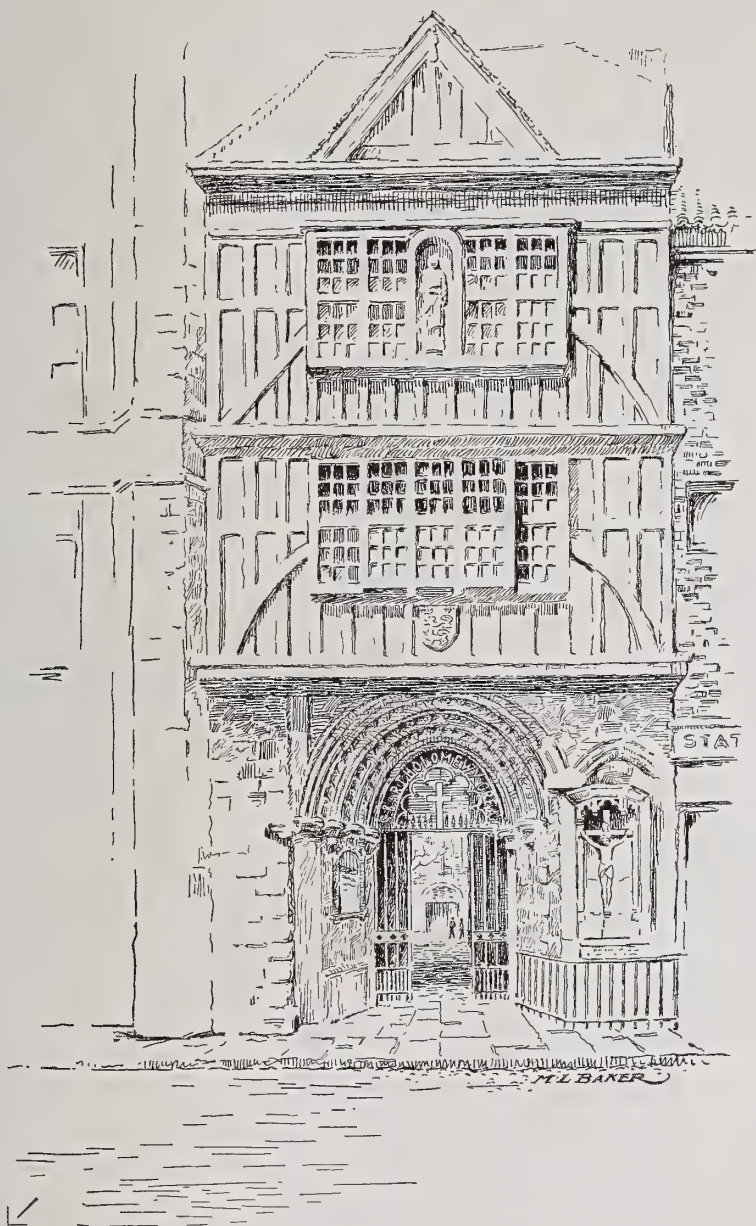
fortress must have been reminded of the days when the paths of Glory led straight to the Tower. About a score of the German spies were executed there, and one at least, Carl Lody, was brave for he conducted himself as well as even the traditions of the Tower could demand or as anyone could wish for in any enemy.

It is strange how the threads of history lead in that direction. Once in London it occurred to me to look up the home of William Penn. I had a vague notion that he was claimed by some place near London. I consulted the Dictionary of National Biography. I learned that he was born on Tower Hill next door to the Tower of London. He was baptized at All Hallows Barking, a step from the Tower. Then I came to Lincoln's Inn where he lived and then back to the Tower itself which he also inhabited.

It is commonly supposed that the Tower is a gloomy place inhabited by ghosts and warranted to break the spirit of the strongest. It has never struck me as a gloomy place and why should ghosts be gloomy? No rents to pay and immunity from arrest. True there is the Tower's tragedy but what human habitation has not known tragedy or what smiling field from Gettysburg to Gethsemane? To me the Tower has always seemed a cheerful place fit for a Royal residence. Of course Penn was a prisoner in the Tower, but so was Queen Elizabeth and it does not seem to have broken *her* spirit. It probably gave that demure Princess a dawning sense of her own importance. Doubtless it had the same effect on Penn. It was not thirteen years of the Tower that broke the heart of Raleigh, but unmerciful Disaster that followed his steps from the day he left the shelter of its walls. If he had stayed there writing history and making experiments, his life would have been longer and happier and the world would have been richer.

DOMESDAY BOOK

In Chancery Lane stands the Record Office where the State documents of England are kept on file. It is a most formidable and precious array of papers sacred to the uses of History. Among them are some very human documents and some that are very businesslike. There are Ancient Charters, Treaties, letters of Kings and Queens to each other and to their subjects. Letters of great subjects to their sovereigns. Records of State trials and most precious of all the Domesday Book. It is a record of the survey which William the Norman caused to be made of all the land in England, with its



St. Bartholomew the Great. The Gateway in West Smithfield,
 Leading to the Church. This Gate was Originally the
 Entrance to the South Aisle and Formed Part
 of the West Facade of the Monastic Church

valuation, the names of the owners, together with the number of houses, cattle and other property. It was popularly called Domesday Book because the people said that what was written in it would hold good till Doomsday. From it there was no appeal and its aid is still sometimes invoked in the law courts. Just before the survey was finished, William during a visit to Normandy was killed by a fall from his horse. Domesday Book is written on parchment in Latin and in a beautiful clear script. An interesting thing about it is that London is omitted from the survey. The reason is not positively known but we may readily surmise that the Londoners said that they never kept Domesday Books and it wasn't done. Formerly Domesday Book was kept in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey and was removed to its present quarters only in 1865. In the same place may be seen the old oaken chest in which it was formerly kept. The Record Office is on the site of the Rolls House and chapel, a building erected by Henry III in the 13th Century for converted Jews. As the number of converts diminished it was taken for the use of the Master of the Rolls. The site of the Chapel is now occupied by the Museum that preserves the dimensions and some parts of the old Chapel. In this Museum is exhibited the Domesday Book and some other documents of vivid interest.

SAINT BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT

Next summer London will celebrate the eight hundredth anniversary of the founding of Saint Bartholomew the Great, the Church and the Hospital, both founded in 1123 by Rahere whose story sheds an interesting light on the times in which he lived. Accounts of his origin differ and the exact position which he came to occupy at the court of Henry I may not be entirely clear. The story that has as good a claim as any assigns to him a humble origin and avers that he improved his fortunes by his wits and by making fun for those who could reward a gift that gave them light entertainment. By these means he attained to the position of court jester and to considerable wealth. Then he became converted, gave up his gay life and made a pilgrimage to Rome. It happened that seven years earlier the bones of Saint Bartholomew were found in India, brought to Rome and deposited on an island in the Tiber where there had stood a shrine of Esculapius and there was a good deal of popular enthusiasm for the new relics. Accordingly when Rahere was taken sick at Rome he made a vow to Saint Bartholomew that

in case of his recovery he would build a hospital in London. In a vision the saint appeared to him, accepted the vow and promised a return to health. In London afterwards Saint Bartholomew again appeared to Rahere who in his gratitude for health restored and a safe return allowed his benefactor to persuade him to build a regular religious establishment as well as a hospital. His businesslike visitor then pointed out to him that the heath outside the north wall of the



In St. Bartholomew the Great. From the South Ambulatory,
Looking at the North Wall of the Choir with Rahere's Tomb

City, the smooth field—Smithfield—was frequented and inhabited by a lot of grooms, horse dealers, jockeys, stable boys and the rough, heterogeneous and unclassified crowd that congregated near the horse fair. These people had no church and were without priests or religious discipline. Smithfield was therefore selected as the site of the hospital and the priory both of which Rahere set about building, the one close to the other but each established under a separate foundation. The priory was placed under the Canons of Saint Augustine to which order Rahere himself now belonged for he became

the first Prior of Saint Bartholomew. On the tomb of Rahere, the founder, in the Church of Saint Bartholomew the Great his effigy may still be seen, attended by the figures of two kneeling monks with Bibles open at the 51st chapter of Isaiah, 3d verse.

“For the Lord shall comfort Zion: He will comfort all her waste places; and He will make her wilderness like Eden and her desert like the garden of the Lord; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody.”

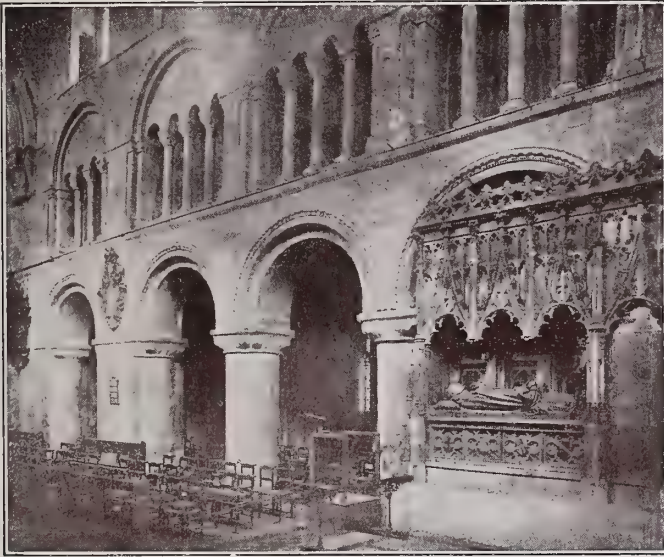
All that remains of Rahere's Priory is the choir of the Church. The Nave, together with the Cloisters and all of the conventual buildings were destroyed after the dissolution and the whole place



In St. Bartholomew the Great. North Transept and Ambulatory

thereafter fell into neglect and decay. A forge was installed in the North Transept; a parochial school in the North Triforium and a Presbyterian Meeting House in the South Triforium behind Prior Bolton's oriel window whence in the 14th Century he used to watch the celebration of Mass. The Lady Chapel was bought by Sir Richard Rich who used it as a dwelling house. Later it became the shop of Samuel Palmer, Printer, the shop in which Benjamin Franklin worked during his first visit to London. In the 19th Century the Lady Chapel became a fringe factory, but towards the end of that century it was reclaimed and since that time everything possible has been done and is being done to preserve all that remains of the old Monastic Church. The churchyard now occupies the ground that was formerly the Nave, the pavement of which is nearly five

feet below the present level of the ground where the tombstones stand. The present front of the Church was built after the Nave was destroyed by Henry VIII and the narrow approach by which the entrance is reached was excavated through the graveyard in 1863. This approach leads from Smithfield by an ancient gateway that was originally a part of the west facade of the Church of which it formed the southwest entrance. Looking towards Smithfield this surviving fragment of the original church marks the position of its western front.



The Tomb of Rahere in St. Bartholomew the Great

Next to the chapel in the Tower the Church of Saint Bartholomew is the oldest in London. It is one of the finest examples of Norman architecture to be seen in England.

The hospital just to the south of the Church was in charge of a Hospitalier assisted by eight brothers and four sisters subject to the Prior. Its good work has never been interrupted since the day of its foundation. There Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood, and lately it has been the refuge of the maimed in the war. Its service to Humanity is a long one. What it must have witnessed during the Black Death of 1348 and the Great Plague of 1665 is too appalling to think of, but I can picture the doctors of that day exposing themselves to infection in their heroic efforts and dying by hundreds. There was little medical science in 1665, and few safe-

guards. The people could only chalk crosses on their doors, while the dead carts rolled and the doctors watched the stars and dissected the bodies of the victims in their desperate efforts to learn something. One often hears the just praises of the doctors who in our own day, armed with science and with modern safeguards are making such a noble fight against disease. But something is to be said for the old doctors who with little science and no protection made the same old war on behalf of their fellow men.

"Yes when the crosses were chalked on the doors,
Yes when the terrible dead cart rolled,
Excellent courage our fathers bore,
Excellent heart had our fathers of old."

It must not be forgotten that when the great plague arrived in 1665 London had already experienced three visitations in the same century and when the greatest scourge of all came upon them they were prompt to make regulations respecting it. In the orders issued by the Lord Mayor, every parish was provided with watchers, searchers, doctors and nurses, grave diggers and dead carts. Each infected house was isolated till it got so bad that isolation had no meaning. Each house where the plague had entered had to be marked with a red cross a foot long with the words, "Lord have mercy on us." Moreover in each parish one or more citizens were sworn in as examiners whose duty it was to keep in close touch with the conditions within his parish and report the same to the Lord Mayor and Council. Anyone refusing to serve was sent to jail. The old hospitals like Saint Bartholomews were soon overcrowded and temporary ones were opened.

In that dreadful time, about 70,000 people, or one person out of every three, died of the plague in London. Yet somehow the food supply was kept up and all needful work was done. The finest description of the Plague is that by Defoe who at the age of five years survived it and lived to write more than his truthful story of the event of which he must have retained vivid impressions. There are also contemporary accounts, including that of Pepys, that of Evelyn, and that contained in the letters of John Allin. The following written by the Rev. Thomas Vincent is sufficiently vivid.

Now death rides triumphantly on his pale horse through our streets, and breaks into every house where any inhabitants are to be found. Now people fall as thick as the leaves in autumn when they are shaken by a mighty wind. Now there is a dismal solitude in London streets. Now shops are shut, people rare and



St. Bartholomew the Great. The Church of the Priory Founded by Rahere in 1123. After the Reformation the Monastic Buildings were Destroyed and the Present Edifice is the Norman Choir of the Monastic Church. The Nave Stood Where the Pathway and Grave-yard are Seen

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very few that walk about, inasmuch that the grass begins to spring up in some places; there is a deep silence in every street, especially within the walls. No prancing horses, no rattling coaches, no calling on customers nor offering wares, no London cries sounding in the ears. If any voice be heard it is the groans of dying persons breathing forth their last, and the funeral knells of them that are ready to be carried to their graves. Now shutting up of visited houses (there being so many) is at an end, and most of the well are mingled amongst the sick, which otherwise would have got no help. Now, in some places, where the people did generally stay, not one house in a hundred but what is affected: and in many houses half the family is swept away: in some, from the eldest to the youngest; few escape but with the death of one or two. Never did so many husbands and wives die together: never did so many parents carry their children with them to the grave, and go together into the same house under earth who had lived together in the same house upon it. Now the nights are too short to bury the dead: the whole day, though at so great a length is hardly sufficient to light the dead that fall thereon into their graves.

SMITHFIELD

The Church of Saint Bartholomew the Great and Saint Bartholomew's Hospital stand at Smithfield (originally Smoothfield) a site that has served for many uses and witnessed many extraordinary scenes. It was a level, grassy field where from 1150 till 1855 the principal horse and cattle market of London was held on certain days of the week. It was also a fair ground and a favourite resort for strolling players, acrobats, jugglers and mountebanks. It was the scene of many famous tournaments. In very early times it was also a place of public execution.

In 1381 there happened at Smithfield an event so dramatic and of such striking effect that it deserves more space than I can give to it. The King, Richard II, was a boy of fourteen, handsome, chivalrous and courageous. In that year the rebel Wat Tyler appeared with his uncouth rabble from Kent and Essex. It seems that London did not deem it worth while to shut its gates on a crowd of peasants who entered the City without resistance. Having committed depredations and having given an exhibition of mob violence during which a number of citizens lost their lives, they drew off to Smithfield to plan what they would do to the City that was apparently at their mercy. Their plan was to kill certain people, take the young king prisoner, exhibit him in different parts of the kingdom to terrorize the country and then put him to death. Still the city authorities had done nothing to deal with the situation. The King who was at the Tower rode to Smithfield to meet the rebel

leader and learn his demands. With him were a band of courtiers and prominent citizens among whom was the Lord Mayor, Sir William Walworth. As he parleyed with the King, Wat Tyler grew insolent, whereupon the hot tempered Lord Mayor rushed upon him and struck him down with a blow of his sword. His followers, seeing their leader killed, raised a great outcry and began to string their bows. But the King, spurring forward alone and standing in his stirrups in front of the infuriated mob cried out—"Will you shoot your King? I will be your leader." It was an inspiration. He then led them to an open field some distance away where he held them in parley till Walworth who had hastened into the City returned with a sufficient number of armed men to give him some show of support. Why hadn't he done that before? The King then persuaded the rebels to go home and the peasants' uprising was brought to an end. Thus by his presence of mind, his courage and his sense of the dramatic, Richard at the age of fourteen saved the City from the vengeance of the most outrageous and disorderly mob that London had ever known.

But more deeply engraved in history is the memory of the fires of Smithfield, for there the Stake was fixed and more than a hundred men and women, Protestant and Catholic, were burnt to death on that field for Religion's sake from the reign of Henry IV to the reign of Mary Tudor. On the wall of Saint Bartholomew's Hospital is a poor little plate half hidden recording the names of some of those who were burned in Mary's reign. It is strange to think that the fires of Smithfield had a church on one hand and a hospital on the other. But the fires of Smithfield have burned themselves out whereas the Church and the Hospital, surviving from an earlier day, are still among the noblest sights in London.

On the corner house of Cock Lane there is a gilt figure of a naked boy marking the spot where the great fire of 1666 was stopped, just short of Smithfield, by blowing up some houses.

THE GREAT FIRE

Near the approach to London Bridge stands a tall column designed by Wren to commemorate the Great Fire. It is known as The Monument and though it has taken its permanent place among the topographical terms of London, like the Embankment or the Bank, its significance is overlooked. I suppose that if the Great Fire

of 1666 had happened in ancient Babylon, or Jerusalem, or Rome, or in any mediæval or modern city outside of England, its magnitude and its significance in human events would not be missed by the historian. But in the English histories it figures as a fire that burnt a lot of houses and was rather a good thing because it appears to have put a stop to the plague. I once had an idea that the Great Fire was a sort of providential intervention sent to cleanse the City from the plague, an event for which London had to be thankful. Having with great diligence and labour found out the facts for myself, I have now a very different view of the Great Fire. It was an unmitigated calamity. It was also the most overwhelming and disastrous conflagration in history. Antiquity presents no example on a scale so tremendous and no modern instance is to be mentioned in the same terms. The burning of Rome was of much less consequence. In the first week of September were destroyed the landmarks of a thousand years. The greatest and finest city of Europe was swallowed up in smoke and flame. Mediæval castles, palaces and great houses by the hundred, hospitals, almshouses, libraries, the Halls of the City Companies—a hundred in all—markets, more than fourscore churches, one of the greatest mediæval cathedrals in Europe, 13,200 houses, 640 streets, four of the seven City Gates, all the stores of merchandise, records, paintings, tapestries, furniture, and the accumulated treasures of centuries were completely burnt. There remained a fringe, mostly outside the walls, including the Tower, a part of the Temple, part of Smithfield with Saint Bartholomew's Church and hospital, the Charterhouse and a few streets of houses. The fire began near where the Monument stands and at the end of a very hot and dry summer—the dreadful summer of the plague. It burst upon the City like a sudden storm. The upward rush of the heated atmosphere caused a great wind to blow and like a gale at sea, it lashed the flames into billows that rolled with incredible speed from river to wall and over the wall. Once more the Londoners fought for their City but the enemy was more swift and terrible than Saxon or Norman or Dane. The able-bodied men put themselves across the track of the fire. With the aid of gunpowder and with all the implements they could command, they opened broad lanes across the City. The fire jumped the open spaces they had made. Driven back and blowing up houses as they went, they worked through days and nights, and met defeat at every point till at last in the very outskirts they prevailed on two or three

sections of the battle line. King Charles himself was among the fighters; his brother James, Duke of York, was one of the most active in organizing the work. Everyone worked; princes, noblemen, shopkeepers, artisans, labourers, sailors home from the sea; rich and poor together. They were defeated. For a week London was a furnace and then it was no more.

Meantime women and children and the older men were streaming out of the City. Some of them snatched what they could save, but there was little time for salvage and few means of transporting possessions. Countrymen swarmed towards the City with their carts and I am afraid we have it on good authority that some of these countrymen at great profit to themselves hired their carts to Londoners in their need. There have been profiteers always.

When it was over the population was living in shelters on Moorfields and in the open country to the north of the City. Yet, within four years, more than ten thousand new houses had been built and in a few years more the City with its churches, halls, palaces and markets, and its great Cathedral had risen from its ashes. I know of no parallel to this rapid building of a city unless we may find it matched in the city building of the Romans. The new City was well built of brick and stone. No wooden buildings were permitted and the houses were substantial.

At a depth of several feet below the present pavements, relics of the fire are sometimes brought to light in the sinking of foundations. In 1910 there was found the entire contents of a jeweller's shop, quite undamaged by the fire, a beautiful collection of exquisite seventeenth century jewellery, that may be seen in the London Museum. Who knows what treasures lie hidden under the streets and houses of modern London?

By a happy accident of Fate, a great architect was on hand. Immediately after the fire Sir Christopher Wren came forward with a comprehensive scheme for laying out London on a splendid new plan with broad highways and squares and Thames embankment and many architectural and ornamental features. The plan was approved by the government but the Londoners did not want a city on a new plan, they wanted the City they had known. They had their way for in the rebuilding of the houses, the streets were kept as they had been. But Wren left his mark on London in the astonishing number of houses and churches that he designed and that remain among the finest in the City till today. To crown his

work he received a commission for rebuilding Saint Paul's on the old site.

SAINT PAUL'S

It was the traditional site of the Temple of Lud, worshipped by the Ancient Britons, and later of the Roman Temple of Diana. In the seventh century the Church of Saint Paul was founded by Ethelbert, for Mellitus the first Bishop of London. As an endowment the King gave the church the Manor of Tillingham in Essex and that Manor remains to this day the property of Saint Paul's Cathedral. This seventh century church of Saint Paul's was burnt down in the eleventh century when the Normans began to replace it by the great church known as Old Saint Paul's destroyed by the Great Fire in 1666. Old Saint Paul's was two hundred years in building. The generations of its builders saw the change from the Norman Style to the pointed or Early English Style and both were represented in the finished edifice. It was an immense cathedral that must have made an impression of vastness and grandeur more pronounced than anything seen in London since its time. It was at least a hundred feet longer and a hundred feet higher than the present Saint Paul's. It had more open space about it. London was not so large, or so crowded with houses. The Cathedral must have dominated the whole City with superb and overwhelming effect. In time its great Nave came to be used for many public purposes not connected with religion. There the lawyers met their clients, each man of law standing by his pillar. All kinds of business was transacted amid a general uproar. There servants went to be hired. Falstaff claimed to have bought Bardolph in St. Paul's. Gallants walked up and down in search of adventure or to learn the news.

Wren's masterpiece of Portland Stone with its sombre mantle London fog spun by the winds, adds to the dignity of the ancient memories that are there enshrined together with the illustrious dead, for Nelson and Wellington are both buried in Saint Paul's.

On the west front of the Cathedral are two towers; that on the north contains the peal of bells and in that on the south are hung the hour bell of the clock and the bell known as Great Paul. It weighs nearly twenty tons and is rung for five minutes at one o'clock on every day of the year, year in and year out. That is the far off booming sound that is heard in the City about one o'clock, and that seems to come from somewhere overhead. The great dome, lifted

over the City crowding round it focuses the vision from all quarters of the compass, but great though it is, the Cathedral Church of London suffers by comparison with its mediæval predecessor, Old St. Paul's.

In an open space beside Saxon Saint Paul's stood a bell tower and the ringing of that bell was a summons calling together the citizens of all classes for the public meetings of the Folkmote. In a



St. Paul's Cross

similar position beside the Norman Church of Old Saint Paul's stood Paul's Cross, a kind of open air pulpit surmounted by a large cross. To Paul's Cross came on Sundays many orators, preachers, reformers and agitators of every description to express their opinions in public, to air their grievances, to expound some doctrine, to advertise some idea, to advocate some right, to plead some cause, to spread some news, to denounce the government and to harangue the patient London crowd. The King, the Court, the Church, the lawyers, the Nobility, the Capitalists were spoken of in terms adapted to the

speakers' sentiments and the sorrows of the poor were dwelt upon with much feeling. The windy corner of Hyde Park opposite the Marble Arch inherits the tradition of Paul's Cross, for the Sunday orations in that expansive precinct are not very different from those that formerly fulminated from the older rallying ground. The right of free speech in relation to civil government and social institutions is as old as London. Only in religious feuds and during periods of bitter conflict was there a diminution of that right, and even then it was not suppressed. True they occasionally talked themselves into jail or to the gallows during these warlike episodes but they talked just the same.

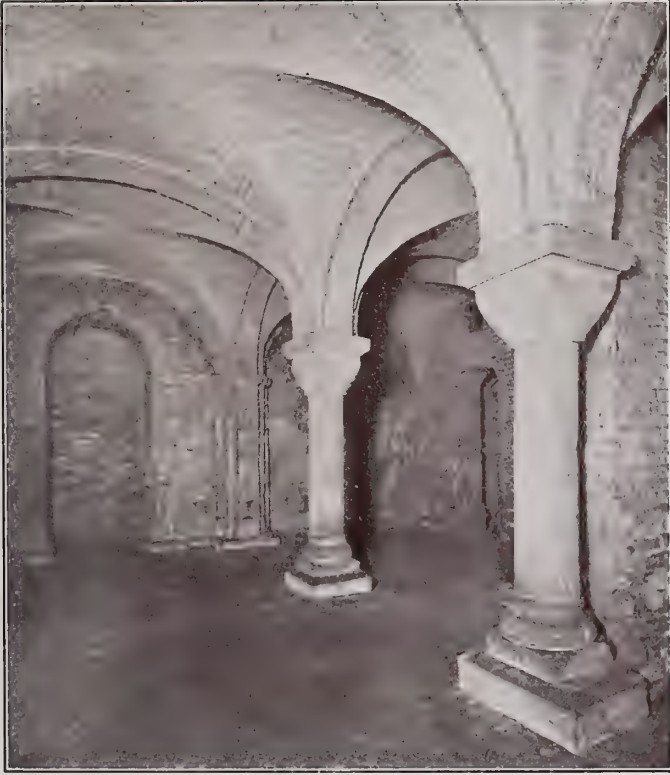
CHEAPSIDE

From Saint Paul's Churchyard to the Mansion House runs Cheapside in ancient times a market place. It was much broader than at present. The Guildhall marks its northern side as late as the 14th century. On the southern side, on the line of the present buildings, rose a stately row of shops, taverns and dwellings. In the middle of that broad street the marketmen had their booths or selds. In narrow lanes leading north and south various trades carried on their business. On the south side are Old Change, Fountain Court, Friday Street (where they sold fish on Friday), Bread Street, Bow Churchyard, Bow Lane, Crown Court, Queen Street, Bird in Hand Court. Then comes Bucklersbury where the apothecaries had their shops and after that Cheapside becomes the Poultry. On the north side are Foster Lane, Gutter Lane, Wood Street, Goldsmith's Street opening out of Wood Street, Milk Street, Honey Lane, Freeman's Court, Lawrence Lane, King Street, Ironmongers' Lane. Then comes the Poultry. Cheapside may look modern but the moment you turn into any one of these wilful lanes and alleys that plunge at once into ancient London you leave all the modern world behind and lose yourself in the past, where if you wish to make yourself at home, you may lodge at Williamson's Hotel in Bow Lane, one of the ancient landmarks of London, under the shadow of Bow Church steeple.

Of all these side streets, lanes and courts the most famous is Wood Street named after a goldsmith of great renown (Sheriff in 1491). He built a beautiful row of houses known as Goldsmiths Row in Cheapside and contributed largely to the cost of building St. Peter's Church at the foot of Wood Street. The Church is gone, but a part of the churchyard remains with a few tombstones and a

single plane tree. The little Churchyard and the plane tree are shut off from Cheapside by two little shops only one story high for there is a clause in the ancient lease that the tree must be protected and in order that it may have plenty of light and air, the height of the houses must not be more than one storey.

The goldsmiths' shops of Cheapside were reputed to be one of the great sights of London. They have long since moved elsewhere



The Norman Crypt of Bow Church

but Goldsmiths' Hall still occupies its original site in the famous quarter. The Goldsmiths Company, one of the oldest of the City Guilds, owns and exercises the right of assaying and stamping every piece of gold and every piece of silver manufactured in London. All objects of gold and silver, as soon as they leave the workman's hands, are sent to Goldsmiths Hall. A portion is there scraped from each article and passed to the Company's assayers. If the article is found true to standard it is passed, if not, it is destroyed without compensation to the owner. The scrapings used in the assay belong to the

Company but no profit is made. Each piece passed receives the Company's stamp as follows. The sovereign's head, a lion, a letter of the alphabet indicating the year of the sovereign's reign. This stamp, applied in Goldsmiths Hall and nowhere else, has given rise to our word hallmark.

Besides this extraordinary privilege, the Goldsmiths Company has a still more remarkable right—The Trial of The Pyx. The Company has custody of the Pyx, the chest containing the standard pieces for testing the national coinage. All gold and silver coins issued from the mint are sent to Goldsmiths' Hall, there to receive the official trial by a jury of the company. All coins of the realm after leaving the mint are tried by the Goldsmiths Company in their own Hall before they become current.

Four famous monuments stood in the middle of Cheapside. At the east end was the Great Conduit; the Little Conduit stood at the west end. They were supplied with sweet water conveyed underground by lead pipes from springs in Paddington. They were built in 1285 for the service of the City. On great days the water was turned off and the conduits flowed with wine instead for all who chose to drink. The third monument was Cheapside Cross, one of the twelve crosses erected by Edward I to the memory of his Queen Eleanor. Cheapside Cross stood opposite the end of Wood Street and may be seen in old engravings. It was damaged in 1441 and then rebuilt by the Lord Mayor. Later it was again damaged and rebuilt, but the Puritans regarded it as an idol and by order of Parliament it was demolished during the Commonwealth with other monuments that had given much pleasure to the Londoners.

There was also the Standard in Cheapside which appears to have stood opposite Bow Church in the middle of the Street, but what it was like I do not know. Beside it offenders against the law were punished by standing in the pillory and for great offenses were beheaded. It was also the place for burning false weights and measure and false merchandise.

The taverns of Cheapside were many and of joyful memory. A favourite sign for an ale house was a long rod projecting horizontally over the street with a bough or bush dangling at the end of it. Hence the proverb "Good ale needs no bush." These signs attained such a length in Cheapside that they were restricted by law to seven feet. But Golden Cheapside was celebrated in other ways. It was the special scenic background of the mediæval pageants on



A View of Cheapside, Showing Some of the Houses on the South Side Decorated for a Riding. In the Foreground is Seen Cheapside Cross, the Companion of Charing Cross and one of the Twelve Erected by Edward I to Queen Eleanor. The Riding Shown in the Picture is the Coronation Procession of Edward VI. After a Contemporary Painting

their way from the Tower to Westminster when its lavish decorations included gorgeous towers, triumphal arches and hangings of rich tapestry and cloth of gold. Cheapside was moreover the scene of many tournaments when the King and Court came to witness the glittering shows which they viewed from stands erected at Bow Church.

If you will look up at the north front of Bow Church where it faces Cheapside you will see a little balcony projecting over the street below the tower. This feature was introduced by Wren when he rebuilt the Church after the fire to commemorate an old tradition. There had stood in front of the older Church a stone tower, "one fair building of stone called in record a seldam, or shed, which greatly darkeneth the said church; for by means thereof all the windows and doors on that side are stopped up."* This structure had been erected by Edward III as a stand from which he and his Queen and court could observe the tournaments. Eventually after many reigns this building passed into private hands and appears to have been converted into some kind of a tavern or place of entertainment called the King's Head of which Stow tells the following story. In 1510 on St. John's eve King Henry VIII, disguised as a yeoman of the guard and carrying a halberd over his shoulder, came to the King's Head and there took his stand the whole night to see the procession of the City Watch. In the morning, when the Watch was done, he went home, none having recognized him. When St. Peter's Eve came round in midsummer, Henry appeared riding in state with the Queen and court and all spent the night at the same place seeing the City Watch.

The procession of the City Watch like all great pageants passed through Cheapside and must have been a very splendid spectacle, but there were also the Royal Ridings which were the occasions of the richest display and costliest decorations. On Lord Mayor's Day Cheapside was similarly decorated in honour of the Lord Mayor's Show.

In Cheapside were born Saint Thomas à Becket; the author of *Paradise Lost* was born in Bread Street, Cheapside, and the author of *Utopia* was born in Milk Street, Cheapside. Between Friday Street and Bread Street stood the Mermaid Tavern where Shakespeare and Raleigh and Ben Jonson and other friends used to meet to drink port wine and exchange the gossip of the day. In Cheapside today if you have letters of introduction you may gain admission to

* Stow.

Goldsmiths Hall, Saddlers Hall, Mercers Hall, Grocers Hall and other famous halls of the City Companies. On the South side is old Bow Church with its graceful spire where Bow Bells call the Cockney home, for everyone born within sound of Bow Bells is a Cockney and however far he may wander he always hears the call of Bow Bells.

They have a friendly greeting for the stranger too, these ancient bells of Bow, for when Dick Whittington as a lad walked to London looking for a job, he was so overpowered by the busy life of the streets, that he turned his face towards home again. Walking along Cheapside he heard Bow Bells calling, "Turn again Whittington, Lord Mayor of London, turn again Whittington, Lord Mayor of London," and he turned again and Bow Bells kept their promise after many days, for Dick Whittington became Lord Mayor of London, not once only, but four times. The bells are twelve in number and they hang in Wren's most graceful spire, for the Church of Saint Mary le Bow was rebuilt after the great fire. It was founded before William the Conqueror, and its ancient Norman crypt survives.

That is Cheapside, celebrated by Chaucer and by Shakespeare and made famous also by that great Londoner, John Gilpin, in his memorable ride. For "the stones did clatter underneath as if Cheapside were mad." This loquacious quality of London brick and stone, this familiar gossip of engaging ghosts, is one of the sweet influences that make the streets so habitable for us all. The bells have friendly tongues, and tavern doors repeat familiar legends and snatches of old song, and there are voices in the very stones that conjure us with hallowed music of the mother tongue.

THE TEMPLE

The Royal Courts of Justice occupy a new building on Fleet Street, erected on historic ground associated with legal traditions of London. On the opposite side of the busy street is Middle Temple Gate, an archway giving access to a passage that leads to the sacred precincts of the Temple. I have said that the streets are silent, but here, a hundred paces from the busy tide of traffic, we have penetrated to a stillness that makes our footsteps seem strangely loud and alarming. The air is hushed. In Fountain Court the water whispers softly and the very birds in the leafy overhead have tuned their

little throats to the cloistered quietude that broods over the Middle and the Inner Temple, the Sanctuary where IT sits enshrined—the awful Majesty of the Law.

The Temple was the seat of the Knights Templars, that famous order, half military and half religious, founded during the First Crusade, an order which spread throughout Europe, became rich and powerful and if we are to believe the charges brought against it at the time of its dissolution, very corrupt. The attack upon the order which became general on the Continent was not shared in England, but when the dissolution was pronounced by the Council of Vienna in 1312, the properties passed to the Knights Hospitaliers.



Fountain Court

In London however that Order did not take full possession of the Temple when the Knights Templars were disbanded. The three parts of the properties lying contiguous to each other were called the Inner, the Middle and the Outer Temple, according to the relation of each to the CITY. The Knights Hospitaliers were allowed to occupy the Inner, which included the more sacred parts. The Outer was granted by the King to the Bishop of Exeter and was eventually acquired by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and with Essex House became the seat of that ill fated nobleman. There he surrendered to the officers of Elizabeth and thence he proceeded to his trial and execution. The properties continued in private hands and so the Outer Temple disappears except as a name and a location extending

from the Strand to the River along both sides of Essex Street. Within a few years of their occupation of the Inner Temple the Knights Hospitaliers were in possession of the Middle as well and we find them renting parts of the Inner to a certain company of lawyers, and the Outer to another company of lawyers, the rent paid in each instance being ten pounds annually. It was therefore early in the fourteenth century that the lawyers got their first footing in the Temple and from the first they appear to have formed two distinct societies, one in the Inner Temple and the other in the Middle Temple. In the hands of these two societies the Temple became at once a seat of learning and of many pastimes besides the law. Young men were sent to the Temple to acquire the accomplishments that were



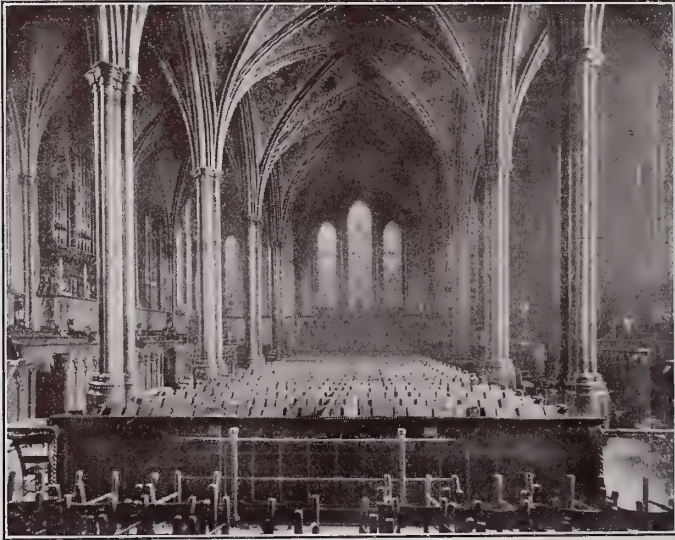
Middle Temple Hall

befitting a gentleman and necessary to a useful citizen, among which accomplishments music and dancing were prominent. Chaucer was a member of the Inner Temple and it is on record that he was there fined two shillings for beating a Franciscan Friar in Fleet Street. In the *Canterbury Tales* we have a description of a Manciple or Chief Cook of the Temple, one of the pilgrims going to Canterbury. From Chaucer to Lloyd George the Temple roll includes among the greatest in English History the names of Walter Raleigh and Francis Drake. The grounds, walks, alleys, stairways and chambers are haunted by the shades of men whose greatness fills the annals of England for the last six hundred years.

We are not to suppose that life in the Temple was one of routine for masters or students. We hear a great deal of revels at Christmas

followed by masques, at both of which ladies were present and which were sometimes attended by the Court itself. These entertainments, lasting often all night, and the banquets that attended them were on such a gorgeous scale, with costumes so costly that only the very rich could participate. In the Halls of the Inner Temple the Masque and the Miracle Play developed into the Stage Play under the direction of Christopher Hatton, the Dancing Chancellor, a favourite of Queen Elizabeth.

The Temple has not been spared the calamities that have been visited upon London. One occurred during the peasants' revolt in 1381 under Wat Tyler. The peasants who regarded the lawyers



The Temple Church

with special aversion, moved in a mob to the Temple with the avowed purpose of hanging its inhabitants. The lawyers having got wind of the plan, had business elsewhere on that day. The rebels however plundered the houses, some of which they destroyed, and made a bonfire of all the books and records.

Till the dissolution, the Knights Hospitaliers remained the owners of the Temple, receiving rents from the two societies of lawyers. That Order was dissolved by Henry VIII, who confiscated the property and allowed the lawyers to remain as tenants of the Crown at an annual rental of ten pounds a year for each of the two societies. It seems that Henry had a scheme for turning out the lawyers and converting the Temple into some use of his own devising,

but it also seems that the lawyers were too smart even for Henry and managed somehow to retain the properties at the same rent that they had been paying for over two hundred years, the only difference being that the Crown became their landlord. In 1608 James the First made an effort to deprive the lawyers of the premises by effecting a sale. Again they scored, this time by presenting the King with a gold cup weighing two hundred ounces filled with gold pieces in exchange for a charter granting them the Temple forever at the old annual rental of ten pounds a year for each Society. In 1673 however the two Societies together purchased these rents from Charles II and became the absolute owners forever, the one of the Inner Temple and the other of the Middle Temple.

Thus the Temple premises, the heritage of an ancient order of chivalry identified with the Crusades, became the permanent property of the lawyers who have been in continuous occupation since 1312, and whose present title is based on the rental of £10 which each of the two societies paid at that time for its share as tenant. In no instance does the persistence of custom in the City of London show to better advantage, with deeper meaning or with greater honour than in this Temple of the Law where students come from all over the British Empire to gain admission to the Bar. It exemplifies in itself the persistence of custom and precedent on which the English law is based and the equity that tempers the practise of the English Courts. The students and the barristers living in the Temple cannot fail to draw from its associations a sense of the dignity and enduring justice that stamp the heritage of the Bar. Breathing its atmosphere they become a part of its tradition.

Always there have been four Inns of Court—the Middle Temple, the Inner Temple, Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn, the last two lying outside the Temple precincts in Holborn. Each has its own independent organization but the four are in close affiliation and on absolute equality. They are the only power in England that can admit to the Bar. Clifford's Inn on the north side of Fleet Street in Chancery Lane, Clement's Inn, Strand, and Staple Inn, Holborn, were Inns of Chancery* formerly associated with the Inns of Court, to which they stood in the relation of preparatory schools. The Inns of Chancery have no longer any functions and their buildings

* Thave's Inn in Holborn Circus, Barnard's Inn on the south side of Holborn and Furnival's Inn on the north side of Holborn, all now demolished, were also Inns of Chancery attached to the Inns of Court.

are devoted to other uses. The members of an Inn of Court are Benchers, Barristers and Students. The Benchers are the senior members, charged with the government of the Inn, the admission of students, the call to the Bar and the discipline of members. Each student must eat a certain number of dinners each term in Hall. Until the summer of 1921 the dinner hour remained fixed at 5.30 and was then changed to 6.30 as a concession to modern innovations. At the appointed hour precisely, an official called the panyer man, in livery walks round the Courts, blowing an ancient ivory horn mounted in silver. The benchers, barristers and students then assemble in the Hall and dine together. Nothing can excuse a student from attending this discipline.

Grand Days are functions held four times a year, once in each term, when judges and distinguished guests sit with the benchers in State at the High Table, separated from the barristers and students. The Readers Feast is a function held at regular intervals, when extra wine and extra commons are served.

The ancient revels presided over by the Lord of Misrule are represented today by balls, concerts, garden parties and other entertainments. Plays are given occasionally in the Hall where Shakespeare gave a first performance of Twelfth Night but the Masque of Flowers perpetuated until recently in an annual Flower Show of the Horticultural Society held in the Temple Gardens but now moved to Chelsea Hospital Grounds, has deserted the Temple Precincts altogether.

When in King Henry IV, Prince Hal said to Falstaff, "Jack we meet tomorrow in the Temple Hall," he meant the Middle Temple Hall, one of the noblest edifices to be seen today in or out of the Temple. It was built in the early sixteenth century, and although the outside was refaced in the eighteenth, the interior remains unchanged with its fine old roof of oak timbers, its carvings and its stained glass windows. A venerable Hall where Fame in its mellowest and most reminiscent mood fills the obscurity of each dim recess and sits in splendour at each festive board—boards hewn from the timbers of the Golden Hinde. It was in this Hall that Shakespeare gave a performance of Twelfth Night in the presence of Queen Elizabeth.

The floor of Middle Temple Hall was renewed in 1730 and when the old worn out boards were removed we are informed that about one hundred sets of ivory dice, dark with age, were recovered from

the retirement in which they lay since they had fallen through the chinks. Another strange discovery was made in 1894 when the walls were being wired for electric lights. Concealed in a closed recess near the roof was found a box containing a well preserved skeleton that must have been lying there for about two hundred years. How it came to be in that position we may leave the lawyers to decide.

In the Temple Cloisters, I saw one day a low square window with small panes looking toward Pump Court, and above the window in large letters the one word SMITH. There was no further information and no sign of a door. A search however revealed in a narrow alley leading from the cloisters a small wooden door like a secret entrance to a smuggler's hold. This being the only entrance



The Temple Cloisters

visible, I plucked up courage to knock, for though not aware that I had any business with the tenant, I had great curiosity. I was received very courteously by the occupant of that tiny tenement with its mysterious window. It was the queerest little shop I have ever seen, the shop of a wigmaker, the successor of a long line of barber wigmakers among whom have been some well known characters. Lord Chancellor Campbell in his Lives of the Chief Justices relates how Dick Danby, tenant of that shop, in his day used to cut his hair, make his wigs and aid him at all times with his valuable advice. There is another wigmaker in the Temple with another long line of distinguished predecessors, Albin whose little window looks on Essex Court.

The Temple Church was built by the Knights Templars in the twelfth century. It is the third oldest church in London and in it the Knights Templars were accused of performing some very strange Pagan rites. In the Great Fire of 1666 the Temple Church barely escaped. The Duke of York with a volunteer force was fighting the fire in this quarter trying to save the Temple whole, but they were driven back and back till they were within the Temple precincts. Then the Duke, as a last desperate resort, decided to blow up some of the Temple buildings themselves to save the rest. The story is quite simply told by that remarkable person who has bequeathed to posterity the name of Samuel Pepys and his diaries. While the Duke was engaged in the hurried work of bringing in the gunpowder by which he was to make his last resistance to the flames, one of the lawyers accosted him and informed him that it was against the rules to bring gunpowder into the Temple. The Duke's equerry, who was with him at the time, took the lawyer and beat him with a stick till he saw the force of the argument. The Temple buildings most exposed to the fire were blown up and the rest were saved. At one moment the Church seemed doomed. A great firebrand carried by the wind, fell on the roof and clung there, melting the lead and quickly burning through to the wooden timbers of the roof. A sailor among the Duke's volunteers somehow climbed up on the roof and beat out the fire with his hands. Afterwards the Corporation of the City of London voted that sailor an award of fifty pounds.

The Temple has close historical associations with the American Republic. Five of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were members of the Middle Temple: Edward Rutledge, Thomas Hayward, Thomas McKean, Thomas Lynch and Arthur Middleton. Besides these, George Rutledge, William Livingstone, John Dickinson of Pennsylvania and Arthur Lee of Virginia and Payton Randolph, President of the Continental Congress of Philadelphia, were all members of the Inn.

LONDON AND THE COLONIES

London had a special stake in the colonies. It was linked through its trade, by the investments of its citizens and it was linked through the colonists themselves, many of whom came from London or had connections therein. In the earliest ventures overseas its merchants had an active interest. The voyages of discovery and

plantation appealed to their trading instincts, for the possibilities of commerce were well known to them. Even the spoils of conquest were scarcely less alluring in their eyes. When Francis Drake returned from his voyage round the world loaded with plunder of Spanish possessions, he sailed up the Thames and anchored below London Bridge and London caught a glimpse of that astounding Argosy and its incredible captain. Queen Elizabeth in her gorgeous barge of State went in splendour to visit the great Adventurer. Drake was dined by the lawyers at the Temple where his name was already enrolled, and the taverns of Southwark and Fleet Street and Holborn and Cheape buzzed with the epic happenings and with healths to Francis Drake. Raleigh was at the Court, Shakespeare was getting ready to come to London, and all three, the Sailor, the Statesman and the Poet, must have met in the years that followed when men's minds were still moved by that new vision of the earth encompassed and its treasures brought to London Dock. How these events must have stirred the emotions of him whose passionate love of England thrills even the cold audiences of today. Incredible far off days! In such a conjunction of the stars were the colonies conceived amid signs and wonders. I know of no event that presaged the founding of the Empire overseas like the arrival of the Golden Hinde at London. It was the most colossal and most daring propaganda that ever encompassed the earth. Westward Ho!

From that time on the Londoners developed and fostered the colonizing spirit and from the time that Englishmen got a foothold in America the plantations were nourished and powerfully supported by London merchants. Virginia was founded by the City of London and the City Companies together. Moreover the settlers who had been born in London carried with them overseas the London outlook. They brought with them their old attitude towards the State, transplanting the long familiar London posture of one who stands on guard, of one who knows to a hair the boundary line between his private domain and the domain of public authority. The definition of his rights that the Londoner continued to assert could not be challenged in Virginia, in Pennsylvania or in New England any more than it could be challenged in the Temple or in Cheapside. The ideas that had shaped the City's history remained a strong link between it and the new Commonwealths of the West. Among the leaders in the New World were men learned in the law who had lived at the Inns of Court and sat with the Benchers in the Temple.

Not the law alone but the customs, the traditions, the faiths of London penetrated the Thirteen Colonies.

In the reign of George III, London's political power happened to be at the ebb. If the CITY had been in this trying time the arbiter of political destinies as it was before and as it has been since, the concessions made to the colonies by the government would not have stopped short of complete satisfaction of all their demands. Indeed if London had been in a position to assert itself strongly it is probable that no taxes ever would have been imposed. Certain it is that the unwilling country never would have been led into a war, feebly prosecuted to an issue determined in the end by a sentiment and a conviction that from the beginning found unanimous expression in London. Whatever difference of opinion there might have been in the colonies about the policies of the government there was none in London. Right or wrong these policies were opposed by the Londoners from the beginning. They refused to contribute to the cost of the war. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen, as spokesmen for the CITY, sent one remonstrance after another to the King on the throne till, incensed at their persistence, he informed their representative in Parliament that he would receive on the throne no more communications from the Lord Mayor. This was a denial of one of London's ancient rights. The Lord Mayor promptly reminded him that London's right of making representations to the King on the throne had never been challenged. The King acknowledged the right. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen continued to send their remonstrances against the colonial policy of the government. They were no perfunctory warnings that the CITY sent to the throne. The feelings of the Londoners were deeply involved and they were running true to their traditions.

"We lament the blood that has been already shed; we deplore the fate of those brave men who are devoted to hazard their lives—not against the enemies of the British name, but against the friends of the prosperity and glory of Great Britain; we feel for the honour of the British arms, sullied—not by the misbehaviour of those who bore them, but by the misconduct of the Ministers who employed them, for the oppression of their fellow-subjects; we are alarmed at the immediate, insupportable expense and the probable consequences of a war which, we are convinced, originates in violence and injustice, and must end in ruin."

Then France entered the war and Spain followed France. This was a bitter dose for the Londoners. They were well aware that the occasion of the taxes that the government sought to impose on the

colonists was the cost of the wars in which England had been involved to protect the colonies and the overseas subjects from French aggressions. Yet the Londoners had made it known that they regarded the tax as unwarranted and unjust. They had made it clear that they were prepared to uphold on behalf of the colonists all that they had ever claimed on behalf of themselves. And now the colonies for whose preservation they had gladly paid and for whom they were prepared to fight, made common cause with the old opponents, the rivals of England on American soil for colonial claims. The Londoners found themselves in a difficult position. They had been let down. Their protestations were no longer possible. It was war with France. Their interest in the issue died. It was humiliating either way. Their support of the war was without heart and without purpose.

Many of the colonists as I have said were Londoners. Among the leaders were men who had been educated in that great training school of good citizenship, the Temple. London therefore understood quite clearly the meaning of the American contention, but the Declaration of Independence and French intervention were events that did not march with their traditions or harmonize with that clear understanding. They could not go along with their children in that new undertaking and in that association. As for kings and governments, they had elected their kings, they had deposed their kings, they had seen their King beheaded, which they knew was a bad business not to their taste. They had overthrown governments, made and unmade parliaments. They were prepared to reenact the events of history if necessary. They had done many things and were prepared to do more, but they had never been disloyal to England. Never. That was their limit. Now they must part company with the colonies. . . . So the colonies went their way—and then within a century and half came the first World War and threatened chaos. The two events are linked as the hole in the dyke is linked with the flood that drowns the land. But in both events London stood exactly where we would expect London to stand.

[TO BE CONCLUDED]

MUSEUM NEWS

GIFTS.

The following gifts have been received.

An old Spanish lamp from Mr. Victor Leser.

A small collection of stone objects found in the San Luis Valley in New Mexico from Mr. Ralph Morgan.

Gifts to the Library.

Text and Plates of Vol. XII of the NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN by E. S. Curtis from Miss Caroline S. Sinkler.

ORIENTAL ARTS OF JAPAN from Mr. Samuel Rea.

PURCHASES.

One of the most important purchases ever made by the Museum in the Section of Far Eastern Art was announced last May and the statue then acquired has since been placed on exhibition. It is a gilt bronze statue of a Bodhisattva probably Kwan-yin, thirty-six inches in height. It was found near Mukden in Manchuria in the bed of a river and its period is in all probability that of the Six Dynasties. The preservation of the statue is excellent, although the gold covering has been lost from most of the clothing and has been replaced by a rich green and brown patina. On the head and neck, however, the gold remains almost intact. The type of this statue is very rare and its whole expression is one of great refinement.

A Graeco-Indian sculpture representing Buddha, about three feet in height and in excellent preservation. This statue was found in 1881 during the excavation of the Swat River Canal at a point just below the remains of the old Buddhist Monastery on the hill known as Yakht-i-Bahi in the Eusufzai Valley of the Peshawur District in Northern India.

EXPEDITIONS.

There has been received from Dr. Farabee a large collection representing the results of his excavations in Southern Peru. This collection includes an important series of Nasca painted pottery and a group of textiles.

There have been received from the Egyptian Expedition the papyri discovered at Thebes last year. The sheets which are in a beautiful state of preservation are covered with inscriptions in Demotic.

Dr. Nathaniel Reich, late of the University of Vienna, has been appointed an assistant in the Egyptian Section of the Museum. Dr. Reich is one of the few scholars in Egyptology who are able to read Demotic script of ancient Egypt. He will begin immediately upon the translation of the papyri recently received at the Museum from the Egyptian Expedition.

The Expedition to Beisan conducted excavations both on the Acropolis and on the cemetery during the summer until the 15th of September. The excavation on the former locality has reached a depth below that of the Byzantine level and the expedition expects at the resumption of work next season to begin removing the débris of the upper Semitic levels. Some Greek inscriptions of historical importance have been found and also architectural fragments of the Byzantine Period. In the cemetery a large quantity of pottery of different periods was found. Bronze, ivory, glass, utensils and ornaments are also among the collections from tombs. Perhaps the most interesting of the discoveries in the cemetery consists of a number of tombs which are believed to be Philistine and which contain clay coffins with human features. They are the first of the kind ever found in Palestine. Another interesting discovery was a marble sarcophagus with a Greek inscription giving the name of Antiochus son of Phallion who has been identified as the cousin of Herod the Great.

After concluding the season's work at Beisan, Mr. Fisher proceeded to Egypt to resume excavations at Thebes and at Memphis. Mr. Ernest Mackay resigned his position on the Egyptian Expedition and has been replaced by Mr. T. R. D. Greenlees of Oxford University.

Mr. Louis Shotridge went to Alaska in May for two years' work on the Southwestern Coast, to study the customs of the people and to make collections. Mr. Shotridge will be provided with a motor boat which will enable him to reach places on the long stretch of coast which are otherwise inaccessible.

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Arrangements have been completed with the authorities of the British Museum for a joint expedition to Mesopotamia. The plans involve excavations on the site of Ur of the Chaldees which has been reserved for this purpose. The expedition left London on September 26th in charge of Mr. C. Leonard Woolley. He expects to arrive at Basra about October 17th and to occupy the winter in organizing and conducting the work of the expedition.

BUILDING.

At the meeting of the Board of Managers on April 21st the Associated Architects of the building were authorized to prepare plans for Section D to be erected on the ground lying immediately to the east of the Rotunda with which it will be connected. The plans and specifications are now nearing completion and it is expected that work will begin on the new section of the building during this autumn. The new part which has been designated Section D will contain the Eckley B. Coxe Junior Egyptian Hall on the main floor. This will consist of one large central hall together with several smaller adjoining halls. These rooms afford space for the proper exhibition of the Egyptian collections assembled by the Eckley B. Coxe Junior Egyptian Expeditions and the other Collections in the Egyptian Section.

APPOINTMENTS.

Miss Isabella Givens and Miss Eleanor M. Moore have been appointed Assistant Docents and have taken up their duties in the Educational Department under the direction of Miss Fernald. Both the new members of the department are graduates of Mt. Holyoke in the class of 1922 where they specialized in the history of the arts.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers held on April 21st, Mr. T. Charlton Henry was elected a member of the Board of Managers.

MEMORIAL MEETING.

A memorial meeting to Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson was held at the Museum on April 29th. Senator George Wharton Pepper presided and the speakers were Hon. Roland S. Morris, Hamp-

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ton L. Carson, Esq., Langdon Warner, Esq., and Mrs. Edward Biddle. The committee in charge of the meeting consisted of twenty-six of the leading men and women of Philadelphia representative of fourteen institutions and societies.

DEATHS.

We regret to record the death of Mr. Joseph M. Rogers who for many years represented the Museum to the public through the press of Philadelphia and of the country. Mr. Rogers' long experience as a journalist and his taste for Museum interests made his services of great value and his absence will be a loss both to the Museum and to the public.

Mr. John Watters who was for twenty three years janitor of the Museum, died suddenly at his home on July 21. Mr. Watters was a trusted custodian whose long period of faithful service made him well known to the public using the Museum.

MUSEUM ACTIVITIES

LECTURES.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON LECTURES by distinguished speakers at 3.30 P. M. in the Auditorium of the Museum.

The lectures are primarily for members and their friends, but unreserved seats are free to the general public.

The series for 1922-23 begins November 4th and is maintained throughout the winter and early spring months. The lectures will be illustrated by lantern slides and moving pictures.

The Winter Course will be as follows:

- November 4. Robert Cushman Murphy, South Georgia, An Outpost of the Antarctic.
- November 11. Dhan G. Mukerji, Pictorial India.
- November 18. Vivien Gilbert, The Romance of the Last Crusade.
- November 25. Wirt W. Barnitz, Scandinavia and the Far North.
- December 2. Carveth Wells, My Six Years in the Jungle of Malay.
- December 9. Gordon McCreagh, Exploring the Upper Amazon.
- December 16. Donald MacMillan, The Baffin Land Expedition.

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SUNDAY AFTERNOON LECTURES by distinguished speakers at 3.30 P. M. in the Auditorium of the Museum.

These free public lectures are held nearly every Sunday during the winter months. Some of the Saturday lecturers use this opportunity of meeting the demand for a repetition of their lectures. Illustrated by lantern slides and, frequently, moving pictures. These lectures will be announced in the daily papers.

DAILY LECTURE TOURS by the Docents at 3.30 P. M.

Every day in the week except Saturday. These gallery talks are free to the public. Groups are limited to twenty five persons and school children are not admitted. Groups assemble at the Sphinx, from which the tour starts.

Special calendar of daily subjects may be had at the Information Desk.

SPECIAL LECTURE TOURS by the Docents at 3.30 P. M.

Special gallery talks are held from time to time on those Saturdays and Sundays when there are no lectures in the auditorium.

These are announced on the Bulletin Board.

MONDAY MORNING LECTURES FOR MEMBERS by the Chief Docent at 11 A. M. in the Auditorium.

A course of lectures on Art Appreciation and History. The series begins the first of November and lasts until the end of March. Only members and their guests are admitted. Illustrated by lantern slides.

From one to four talks will be devoted to each subjects in the following order:

The Nature of Art: Art Elements as Seen in the Art of All Times and Countries.

Study of Composition: Line, Dark and Light, and Colour.

Beginnings of Art: Prehistoric

Ancient Art: Babylonia and Assyria, Egypt, China, Greek Art, Roman Art.

Values and Uses of Art.

Romanesque and Gothic Periods.

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The Great Works of the Renaissance in Italy: Architecture,
Sculpture, Painting.

Northern Painting.

Chinese and Japanese Art.

Modern Art.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON LECTURES FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN by
Docents and Curators at 2.30 P. M. in the Auditorium.

The children arrive at two o'clock and are taken around
the Museum. They then go to the auditorium for talks on sub-
jects related to their work in art, history and geography. Illus-
trated by lantern slides and followed by motion pictures.

Fall Course: October to December.

Spring Course: Middle of March to end of May.

The program of the Fall Course is as follows:

- October 4. The American Indian.
- October 11. The Greeks as Builders and Artists.
- October 18. China and Her People.
- October 25. Russia and Siberia.
- November 1. Egypt of Today.
- November 8. Japan and Her People.
- November 15. Daily Life in Colonial Times.
- November 22. Cook's Voyages of Discovery.
- December 6. The Story of Rome.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON LECTURES FOR HIGH SCHOOLS AND PRI-
VATE SCHOOLS by Docents and Curators at 3.15 P. M. in the
Auditorium.

On subjects arranged to correlate with High School courses
in History, Art, Literature, and the Classics. Illustrated by
lantern slides.

Fall Course: October to December.

Spring Course: March to May.

The program of the Fall Course is as follows:

- October 24. Prehistoric Man and His Art.
- October 31. Appreciation of Art.
- November 7. Ancient Egypt to the Conquest of Assyria.
- November 14. Crete, the Birthplace of Greek Civilization.
- November 21. The Greatness of Greece.
- December 5. Alexander the Great and His Empire.

STORY HOURS.

FOR CHILDREN OF MEMBERS by the Docents, Saturday mornings from November to May from 11 to 12 o'clock.

Stories for children of about seven to twelve years of age, told in the galleries and illustrated by pictures and by the Museum collections.

The talks for the months of November and December will be as follows:

- November 4. Why the Birch Tree Wears the Slashes in its Bark; Big-Boy-Chief; The Spirit of the Corn and Other Indian Stories.
- November 11. The Japanese Story of Urashima.
- November 18. The Adventures of Theseus and Other Classic Myths.
- November 25. Pilgrim Stories: The Voyage of the Mayflower; The First Thanksgiving; Two Little Captives.
- December 2. The Guatemala Story of Li Poo, the Moon.
- December 9. The King's Magic Drum and South African Folk Lore.

PUBLIC GUIDANCE.

Visitors who wish to see the Museum as a whole or any of its collections in particular under expert guidance may secure the services of a docent by applying at the Information Desk.

INSTRUCTION.

DOCENT SERVICE FOR CLUBS.

Clubs or Societies wishing to see the Museum collections under expert guidance may secure the services of a docent by applying at the Information Desk. It is advisable to make appointments in advance if possible.

DOCENT SERVICE FOR SCHOOL CLASSES.

Any teacher in the Public Schools, High Schools, Private Schools, or Colleges may bring a class to the Museum and, by applying for a docent, secure free guidance and instruction in those collections in which the class is interested, correlation

being made with the subjects the pupils are studying in school or college. Special appointments should be made in advance.

DOCENT SERVICE FOR ART SCHOOLS.

Classes from Art Schools are welcomed and talks on the Museum collections along the lines of Design, Craft Work, or Art History are given by the docents upon previous request.

Also there is usually on hand a docent who is prepared to give technical aid to any art student who is designing or painting from the collections and desires advice or assistance.

STUDENTS FROM UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES.

Are especially invited to make use of the collections and the Docent Service, and special privileges and facilities for serious study are offered them.

EXPEDITIONS.

At present the Museum has six expeditions in different parts of the world, conducting excavations or making collections. They are as follows.

An expedition in Alaska studying the customs of the Indians and making collections of their primitive arts for the Museum.

An expedition in Central America making a study of the ancient civilizations and of the customs and languages of the living tribes.

An expedition to Peru which is making excavations among the ruins of extinct civilizations.

The Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Egypt which, under concessions from the Egyptian Government, is conducting excavations at Memphis and at Thebes.

An expedition to Palestine which is engaged in excavating the site of Beisan, the ancient Biblical Beth-shan.

Under the joint auspices of the British Museum and the University Museum, an expedition has been organized for exploration and excavation in Mesopotamia. Work to be begun in the autumn of 1922 contemplates the excavation of ancient Ur of the Chaldees.

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The collections sent to the Museum by these various expeditions will be placed on exhibition. Reports received from the workers in the field will be printed and sent to members from time to time, either in the Museum Journal or in other forms.

LIBRARY.

The Museum Library contains 10,000 volumes relating to art, archæology, travel, exploration, and the life and customs of primitive peoples or early man. Current magazines on the same subjects are always on hand. Readers are always welcome.

AID IN FINE AND APPLIED ARTS.

COÖPERATION WITH ART SCHOOLS.

Students from art and architectural schools are made welcome and facilities provided for them. Classes or individuals may come at any time to draw, paint, or design from the collections. A docent with art school training is on hand to give assistance when desired.

AID TO DESIGNERS AND MANUFACTURERS.

Invitations are heartily extended to Workers in the Crafts and to Designers and Manufacturers of machine made products to make use of our collections in the production of modern design. Rugs, textiles, pottery, glass, jewelry, metal work, ivories, wood carvings, enamels, tiles, mosaics, bead work and costumes are all represented in the collections and afford inspiration for modern Industrial Art. The resources of the Museum are at the service of any professional designer who makes known his needs.

NEW MEMBERS.

The following members have been elected.

FELLOW

Miss Mary A. Burnham

LIFE MEMBERS

T. Charlton Henry

Miss Juliana Wood

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SUSTAINING MEMBERS

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FORM OF BEQUEST

I give and bequeath to the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania the sum of.....dollars, in trust for the uses of the University Museum. (Here, if desired, specify in detail the purposes.)

SPECIAL NOTICE

In order that The University Museum may give appropriate recognition to the substantial gifts which have been already received, and which will hereafter be donated or bequeathed for the development of its resources and the extension of its usefulness, the Board of Managers have adopted the following classification for contributors and members, and have resolved that the names of the donors of aggregate sums of \$25,000 and upwards, in cash, securities, or property shall be inscribed upon a suitable tablet or tablets, to be properly displayed in the Museum.

There shall be five classes of Contributors designated as follows:

<i>Benefactors,</i>	who shall have contributed the equivalent of \$50,000
<i>Associate Benefactors,</i>	“ “ “ “ “ “ “ 25,000
<i>Patrons,</i>	“ “ “ “ “ “ “ 10,000
<i>Associate Patrons,</i>	“ “ “ “ “ “ “ 5,000
<i>Fellows,</i>	“ “ “ “ “ “ “ 1,000

There shall be four classes of Members designated as follows:

<i>Life Members,</i>	who shall contribute \$500
<i>Contributing Members,</i>	“ “ “ 100 annually
<i>Sustaining Members,</i>	“ “ “ 25 “
<i>Annual Members,</i>	“ “ “ 10 “

Contributors and Members are entitled to the following privileges: admission to the Museum at all reasonable times; invitations to receptions given by the Board of Managers at the Museum; invitations and reserved seats for lectures; the MUSEUM JOURNAL; copies of all guides and handbooks published by the Museum and free use of the Library.

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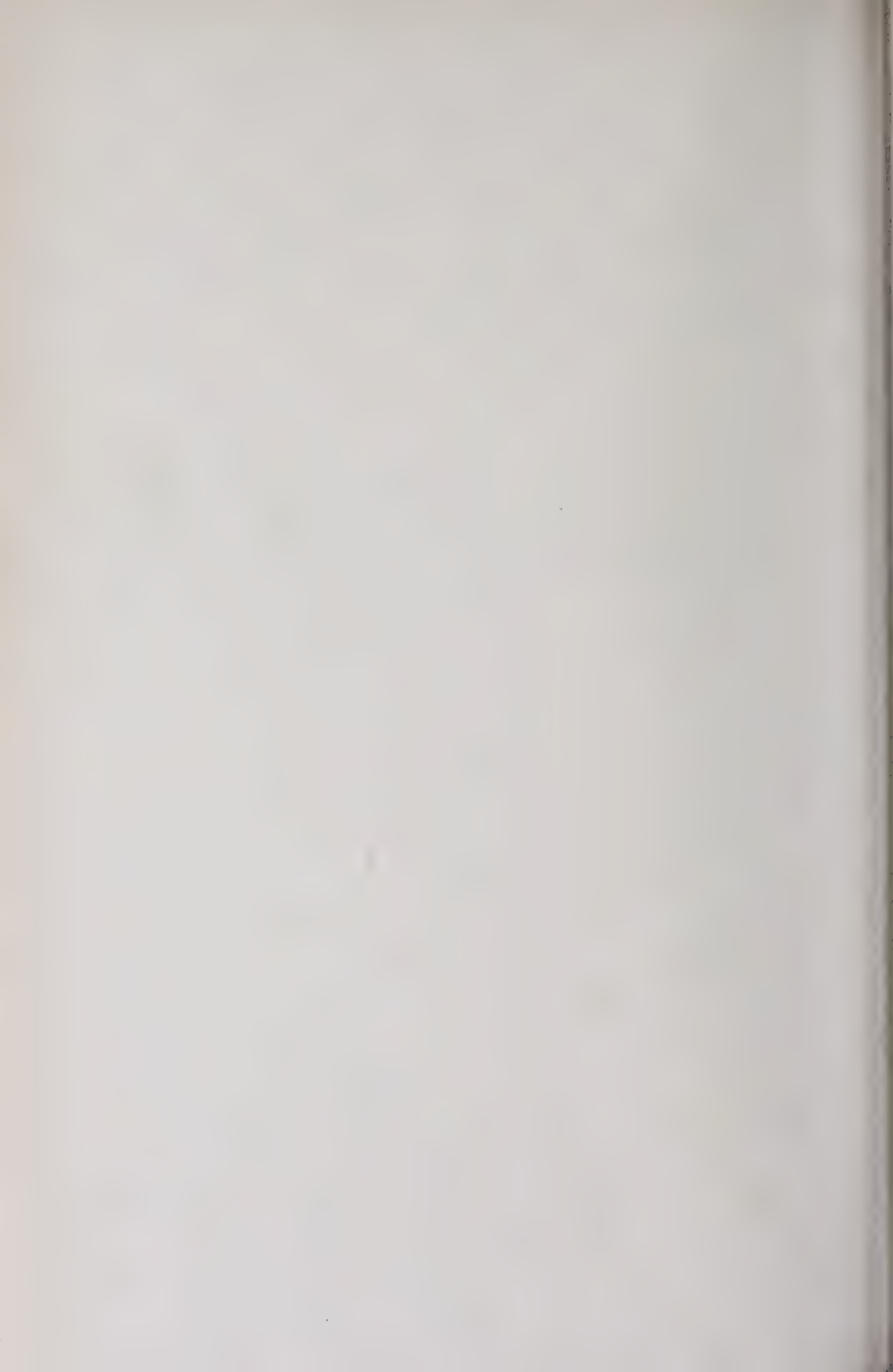
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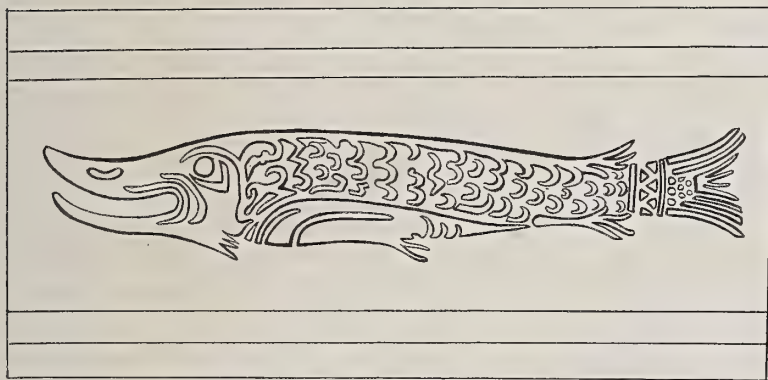
Librarian

MARTHA B. THOMPSON



ANCIENT LONDON

BY
G. B. GORDON



THE WESTMINSTER SALMON
FROM A TILE IN THE FLOOR OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE

Walk about Zion, and go round about her: tell ye the towers thereof, mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces, that ye may tell it to the generation following.—PSALM 48.



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Memoirs of the Geological Survey, 1889; W. Whitaker, The Geology of London and Part of the Thames Valley.

Lord Avebury—The Scenery of England.

Catalogue of the Collection of London Antiquities in the Guildhall Museum.

Londina Illustrata

Henry C. Shelley—Inns and Taverns of Old London.

Philip Norman—London Signs and Inscriptions.

Robert Withington—English Pageantry.

Dean Stanley—Memorials of Westminster Abbey.

Walter George Bell—Unknown London.

Walter George Bell—More about Unknown London.

George Norton—Commentaries on the History, Constitution and Chartered Franchises of the City of London.

J. H. Round—The Commune of London and other Studies.

The Publications of the London Topographical Society.

The books dealing with London and with special subjects connected with it are very numerous. Those contained in this list and the list printed in the last JOURNAL are only those to which I feel myself most indebted. I have drawn so freely on them that I wish to make this acknowledgment to their authors, the dead and the living.



The Palace of Whitehall showing King Charles II and his consort witnessing from a Terrace of the Palace the Lord Mayor's procession in 1683. The picture is at Windsor Castle and the illustration here shown is reduced from a large photograph published in 1909 by the London Topographical Society by permission of the King and made by Emery Walker.

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ANCIENT LONDON

IV

IN THE APPROACHES TO THE CITY

The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob. . . . The Lord shall count, when he writeth up the people, that this man was born there. PSALM 87.

TEMPLE BAR

Adjacent to the Temple in Fleet Street and sharing its traditions are or were many ancient landmarks with memories preserved in literature and history, in song and in legend. Conspicuous among these landmarks was Temple Bar, a barrier or gateway extending across Fleet Street, a little to the west of the archway leading to the Middle Temple. Temple Bar was not a part of the main defences of the CITY—not a part of the continuous wall pierced by seven gates. It was a detached gateway in an advanced position toward the west on the boundary line between the CITY and Westminster, for it should be remembered that the wall itself was not the boundary of the CITY but a line running parallel to the wall and enclosing a narrow belt outside the wall. Some of the wards lie outside the wall. This explains such surviving names as that of Farringdon Without and Farringdon Within, two distinct wards; also Bishopsgate Without and Bishopsgate Within, two parts of one ward. Where the main roads crossed the boundaries of this outer zone as they approached the CITY gates, they were interrupted by bars for additional protection. Of these the one that survived longest was Temple Bar. Old Temple Bar, of unknown antiquity, was destroyed shortly after the great fire of 1666 and was replaced by another designed by Sir Christopher Wren, a fine arched gateway that was

still in perfect repair in 1878, when it was removed to accommodate the increasing traffic. Temple Bar is represented today by a monument in the middle of Fleet Street, surmounted by the figure of a griffin, the Crest of the CITY.

Fleet Street is in many respects the most important and the most famous street in London. It takes its name from the River Fleet that ran outside the western wall past Ludgate, where it was spanned by a bridge to carry Fleet Street to the gate. On the south side of the street, and without the wall, stood the Royal Palace or Manor of Bridewell, where Henry VIII lived at times, where Wolsey had a suite of apartments and where the whole of the third act of Shakespeare's King Henry VIII took place. This spacious palace had frontages on the Thames and on the River Fleet. It was given to the CITY by Edward VI as a hospital and asylum for the poor. Later it was converted into a house of correction and lunatic asylum which it remained up to the time when it was demolished in 1863.* Its site today is a maze of streets and buildings with shops and offices, among which is embedded the Church of St. Bride. Next to Bridewell, which took its name from the ancient well of Saint Bride—lying between it and the Temple—was Whitefriars. The Royal Palace and the seat of the Carmelite Brothers lay therefore between Ludgate and the Temple, and between Fleet Street and the Thames. Lying outside the wall but inside the CITY, they had Temple Bar as an outer protection. Temple Bar is at least as old as the Temple whence it derived the name by which it has been known to history. From time immemorial the spot has been marked by some kind of a barrier; at first, as has been surmised, nothing more than an iron chain.

Ludgate being the principal gate of the CITY looking west and the outlet toward Westminster and having in its vicinity the Royal Manor of Bridewell, its approach was of special consequence and Temple Bar has witnessed and continues to witness many impressive ceremonies attended by great pomp and splendour. Its colourful fame rests substantially on the picturesque part it has played in relation to the Royal Processions in their entry into the CITY, for Temple Bar is the official entrance to London. There the Sovereign halts, members of the Royal household on the King's business halt and troops marching with fixed bayonets halt to remove them, for troops do not pass through the CITY streets with fixed bayonets though they go with fixed bayonets everywhere else.

* See Hogarth's drawing in *The Harlot's Progress*, fourth in the series.

In accordance with that ancient custom that requires the Sovereign on his way to visit the CITY to knock and ask leave to enter, a ceremony is performed at Temple Bar on these State occasions with all the stately pageantry that Royalty on the one hand and the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London on the other can command. We have an account of the entrance of Queen Elizabeth when she went



Temple Bar.

to Saint Paul's to give thanks after the defeat of the Armada. At the accession of James I a great triumphal arch, a magnificent affair described as a Temple of Jauns, 90 feet high and 50 feet broad was erected beside the Bar to give greater dignity to the entrance of London. It was provided with battlements and turrets. It had a great gate in the middle. It was adorned with allegories and within was delivered an oration prepared by Ben Jonson. From contem-

porary descriptions it would appear to have been an affair of extraordinary grandeur even for the London of that day.

Coming down to a later day, Queen Victoria on her Diamond Jubilee procession was received by the Lord Mayor at Temple Bar with all the accustomed ceremony. At each of these Royal entrances the Lord Mayor presents the Sword of London to the Sovereign who immediately returns it.

When a Court official on the King's business enters the CITY he likewise is halted at Temple Bar to receive the Lord Mayor's permission. The most recent observance of this timehonoured custom was in July 1919 when the King's Herald rode into the CITY from Saint James's Palace to read from the steps of the Royal Exchange the King's Peace Proclamation on the day that the German delegates signed the Treaty of Peace in Paris.

But Temple Bar has memories of another kind. Like the gate of London Bridge it was adorned at times with the heads of traitors fastened on spikes that were prominently placed on the pediment above the central arch. Among the heads thus exhibited was that of Henry Oxburg who took part in the uprising of 1715 under the Old Pretender. A contemporary writer thus describes the placing of the head.

On the evening of the execution a man was seen with a small bundle under his arm ascending a ladder to the top of Temple Bar. Arrived there he took the white cloth off that which he carried in it and then the men and boys gathered below saw that it was a human head. The man thrust it on to an upright iron rod, then descended to the cart which awaited him and drove away towards Newgate. Next day idlers were peering at the head through a glass and pious people crossed themselves.

But one of the pious people was a Jacobite who, enraged at what he saw cried out "God damn the people who put that head up there," and proceeded to involve himself in a small riot. If it was his purpose to have his own head placed on the gate he was disappointed. He only got a month for making a disturbance.

Another head that adhered to the Old Pretender's cause adhered to Temple Bar for thirty years, a record. It was finally blown down one night during a gale and was picked up by an attorney who showed it to some friends in a public house near by. Dr. Rawlinson, the archaeologist, according to a story, hearing what had happened, wished to purchase the head and to accommodate him someone sold him another which he carefully preserved.

The last heads exhibited on Temple Bar were those of persons condemned for their part in the rising of 1745 under the Young Pretender. It was in 1746 that the last of these, Townely and Fletcher, were executed, when their heads completed the ghastly toll. Horace Walpole, writing the same year says, "I have been this morning at the Tower and passed under the new heads at Temple Bar where people made a trade of letting spying glasses at a halfpenny a look." Twenty seven years later, in 1773, Dr. Johnson told a story often repeated of the same heads at a dinner of the Literary Club. It appears that the two heads remained together until March 31, 1772, when one of them was reported to have fallen down. Temple Bar itself remained for 106 years longer, till 1878, when it was removed stone by stone and reërected at the entrance of Theobalds Park, Cheshunt, where it may still be seen. There is some talk of having it brought back to the CITY and set up anew on the Thames Embankment.

On the south side of the street at Temple Bar, with which it formerly communicated, is Childs Bank, the oldest bank in London, rebuilt in 1878. This is the bank described by Dickens in *A Tale of Two Cities* under the name of Tellson's. Next door to Childs stood the Devil Tavern an ancient and celebrated tavern and the favourite haunt of Ben Jonson, who there presided over the Apollo Club. In 1687 the Devil was bought by Childs and replaced by an extension of the bank. In Childs Bank may still be seen the old sign of the Devil Tavern, Saint Dunstan in company with the Devil. In the same place is preserved a bust of Apollo and a tablet taken from the room in which the Apollo Club used to meet. In gold letters on that tablet you may read the rules composed by Ben Jonson for his club.

Another famous house in Fleet Street was the Mitre Tavern—one of Samuel Johnson's resorts. It stood where Hoare's Bank now stands and the Mitre Tavern in Mitre Court nearby is a modern establishment. The Rainbow, one of the first coffee houses in London was opened in 1656 by James Farr, sometime a barber. He was prosecuted "for making and selling a sort of liquor called coffee as a great nuisance and prejudice to the neighbourhood." Nevertheless the Rainbow prospered and though it has been remodeled is still one of the attractions of the neighbourhood. Also close to Temple Bar on the north side of Fleet Street stood the famous Cock, where Samuel Pepys entertained two lady friends to a lobster supper and got in trouble with his wife as he relates in his diary. Tennyson's Will

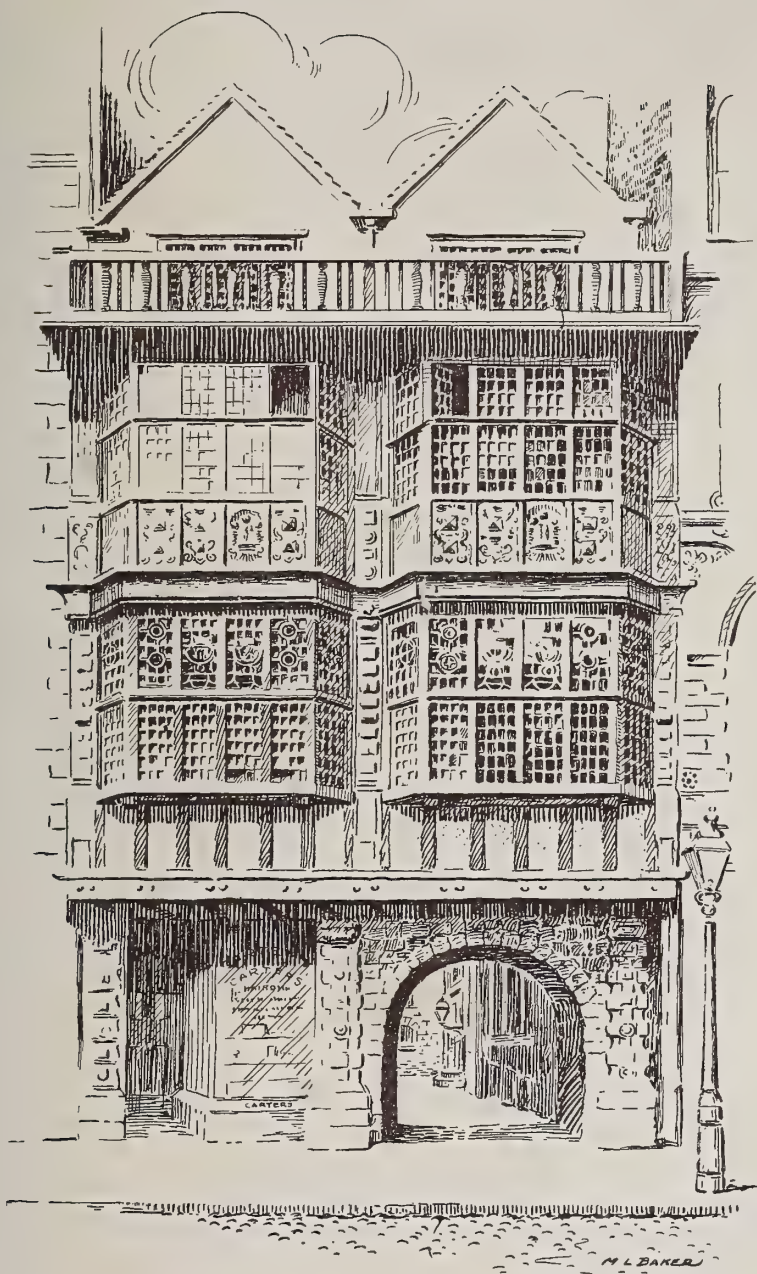
Waterproof adds a later and better known lay to the literary traditions of the Old Cock. The gilded sign, carved by Grinling Gibbons, a fireplace and other features long remembered, form part of the decorations of the modern Cock Tavern on the other side of the street, erected when its predecessor was pulled down in 1886.

Dick's Coffee house, reached by a narrow passage on the south side of Fleet Street near Temple Bar, adjoined the buildings of the Temple in Hare Court. It was a favourite resort of Steele and Addison as well as of many others whose names are known to fame, down to the year 1899 when it was demolished.

All of the taverns I have mentioned and many more living in London's memory with Temple Bar—all these ancient haunts of fellowship and freedom from care that ministered to the dwellers in the Temple and to travellers to and from the CITY, have been swept away within the last half century but linger still in the memories of living Londoners. One of the old taverns of the Temple neighbourhood remains unchanged, the Cheshire Cheese in Wine Office Court, Fleet Street. The present building dates from the seventeenth century. The tradition that Dr. Johnson at times frequented the Cheshire Cheese is denied by some, but I see no reason to doubt the innocent story. Certainly it was there in his time and I am sure he frequented every tavern in his kingdom.

Opposite the end of Chancery Lane is the gate of the Inner Temple, with its gatehouse known as Prince Henry's Room. It was built in 1610 and named in honour of Henry, Prince of Wales, the son of James I. Its most interesting feature is a large square room with fine carved oak panelling and pilasters and an ornamental plaster ceiling. It is one of the few private houses that the Corporation of the City of London together with the London County Council have decided to preserve.

Henry, Prince of Wales, is one of those bright attractive spirits that pass quickly across history's stage and are gone. The eldest son of the first James, he showed all the qualities that a prince should have. He was handsome, eager in pursuit of knowledge, fond of learning, but also fond of games and outdoor life and manly sports. He was by nature generous and affectionate and was beloved by the Londoners. He was a great friend of Raleigh whom he constantly visited in the Tower. He died in St. James's Palace in his 19th year. One cannot help wondering what the fortunes of the Stuart Dynasty might have been had it survived in the person of that most promising scion of the House.



The arched entrance to the Middle Temple and the Gatehouse containing Prince Henry's Room, which occupies the floor directly over the gate and which may be rented for meetings. The floor above is used for a Tea Room. Tradition has it that Prince Henry occupied the Room that bears his name, as the office of the Duchy of Cornwall.

SOUTHWARK INNS

There are certain thoroughfares that lead one's footsteps on amid a throng of ghosts by ways frequented since that far off London dawn that saw the first arrival on the Thames. As one travels these highways, memory threads the passages of time till step by step the journey leads through crowded centuries to dim horizons where spirits refuse to be summoned from the vasty deep. One of these thoroughfares is Fleet Street; another is that which begins at the southern end of London Bridge and runs through Southwark away



The yard of the Kings Head in Southwark. From a photograph made about 40 years ago by the Society for Photographing Old Buildings.

toward the southeastern counties of England. It was the road that led from London to the coast before the Romans came and, connecting with the Continent, carried the rising tide of London's foreign trade before Caesar sailed from Gaul. The Romans improved that Dover road and, where it approached the bridgehead, it became lined with houses that spread along the river and from the river into Surrey till the Roman City claimed the southern side of the Thames opposite the frowning bastions that guarded the stronghold on the northern bank, with which it was connected by the bridge. That was the beginning of Southwark. It was created by the most important approach of London, the road that led to the coast and the Continent

and straightaway to Rome. Today that road is called Borough High Street and time has obliterated its monuments but not its memories. It has swept away the Roman Hippodrome and Shakespeare's Theatre, the Globe. It has swept away Chaucer's Inn and Jack Cade's Inn but the road runs as it always ran adapting itself to all changes without ado. No other road to London brought so many travellers from all lands and no street in London had more famous inns.

Byfel that in that sesoun in a day,
In Southwark at the Tabard as I lay.



The yard of the Kings Head Inn in Southwark. From a photograph made about 40 years ago by the Society for Photographing Old Buildings.

Thus Chaucer, who gives a picture of the jovial landlord as well as of the company that was setting out for Canterbury on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas à Becket, London's patron saint, a pilgrimage so popular that the Southwark inns did a profitable business with the pilgrims. Tabard Inn survived till 1876, when it was pulled down to make room for more modern uses. A hop merchant's office and a modern inn called the Old Tabard now occupy the site.

The advent of the railroads and the dislocation of the old traffic caused the first general removal of old inns, but the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the present century witnessed the obliteration of many more.



The George Inn, Southwark. This is still standing. It was the southern side of the Inn yard, which was surrounded on three sides by galleried structures. It is a good surviving fragment of a galleried Inn, which was the type where the coaches put up.

Another historic inn on Borough High Street was the White Hart Inn, built in the fourteenth century. It was there that Jack Cade had his headquarters in 1450, when he attacked London, according to the chronicles and according to his own announcement in Shakespeare's *King Henry VI*. Dickens gives a good description of the White Hart as it appeared in his day for it was there that he introduced Mr. Pickwick and Sam Weller to each other. It was pulled down in 1889.

The George Inn stood between the Tabard and the White Hart and a fragment of it is standing and entertaining travellers today. Next to the Tabard stood the Queen's Head Inn, once owned by John Harvard, who inherited it from his mother and who, having emigrated to Massachusetts, endowed the College that bears his name. The Queen's Head was removed in 1895.

HOLBORN INNS

Returning to the north of the Thames, Holborn ranks as one of the principal approaches to the CITY. Along that way Watling Street, the Roman road to the North, led into the CITY via Newgate. A pair of granite obelisks astride of Holborn, one at the end of Grays Inn Road and the other at Staple Inn opposite, mark the site of Holborn Bars the barrier that, like Temple Bar, stood where the road crossed the boundary of the CITY. High Holborn claims the distinction of being adorned still with one of the few surviving houses of Elizabethan times, Staple Inn with its picturesque halftimbered front



Staircase in the Oxford Arms, in Warwick Lane, Newgate Street.
From an old photograph made by the Society for Photographing
Old Buildings about 40 years ago.

of many gables, its fine old Hall, its two courts, its sunken garden and its soft repose. It was an Inn of Chancery and is one of the best surviving bits of 16th century architecture in London. High Holborn escaped the great fire and till the end of the nineteenth century retained some of the finest of the old inns. There was the Old Bell a famous inn of the galleried type like the inns of Southwark, a resort of old coaching days, and till very recently a retreat of vastly soothing atmosphere and archaic habits. It was torn down in 1897 and its neighbour the Black Bull, another coaching inn where Sairey Gamp and Betsy Prig took Mr. Lewsome in their tender care, followed its brother the Old Bell in 1901. Gone!

I will not trace further the melancholy tale of the passing of these hospitable haunts of humanity. Their cheery names and honest fame linger like the taste of old wine and will live in song and story when their successors are forgotten—when the Ritz and the Regent's Palace pass with as little mercy and with much less grace into unlamented oblivion. I cannot pass on however without recording my deep regret at the closing of the Old Sceptre Tavern in Warwick Street, Westminster. I felt it as a personal loss. It was the summer of 1921 that I last took my way to the Sceptre to find it closed, wherefore I passed a bad afternoon. It was one of the best surviving chop houses.



Staple Inn, Holborn. From a Photograph taken before the plaster covering was removed, by the Society for Photographing Old Buildings.

BISHOPSGATE

Through Bishopsgate, the street that took its name from the gate enters London from the north. There stood some famous inns, among them the Bull, the White Hart, the Green Dragon and the four Swans, destroyed in 1873. They stood in Bishopsgate Street Within, along with St. Helens and St. Ethelburga, two of the churches within the walls that escaped the great fire. In Bishopsgate stood till recent years two houses of great distinction and historic fame. Each was a private house and each was built by a rich London merchant and bore eloquent testimony to the style in which London

merchants lived in the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first to go was the last built—Sir Paul Pindar's house that stood in Bishopsgate Street Without. Its fine carved oak front is preserved in the South Kensington Museum together with one of the ceilings. Sir Paul was the type of the successful seventeenth century merchant and man of affairs. He was at one time Ambassador to Constan-



Sir Paul Pindar's house formerly on the west side of Bishopsgate Street Without. The 17th Century residence of Paul Pindar, a London merchant. In the last of the 19th Century it was used as a tavern. The carved oak front is now in the South Kensington Museum. From a Print Published in 1826 by Wilkinson.

tinople and among the treasures he brought home from the East was a diamond valued at £35,000 which James I used to borrow from him to wear on State occasions.

The other residence to which I have referred is Crosby Hall, built by Sir John Crosby in the fifteenth century and demolished in 1908 to make room for a bank. Crosby Hall that stood in Bishops-

gate Street Within,* had many distinguished tenants, among them the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III. Shakespeare must have known it when it was entire. He shows us Gloucester making engagements in Crosby Hall with various people from the Lady Anne to the First Murderer. Parts of it afterwards were destroyed but the great Hall, 90 feet long, 45 feet wide and 40 feet high, with its



Crosby Hall in Bishopsgate Street. Crosby Place was built by Sir John Crosby in the 15th Century, and was occupied by Richard III as Duke of Gloucester and by Sir Thomas More among others. The Hall of which the front is seen in the picture was pulled down in 1908 and partly reerected in Chelsea.

fine oak timbered roof remained intact till the present century. When Crosby Hall was taken down in 1908, this part of the old edifice was reërected at Chelsea on the site of Sir Thomas More's house where it is used for lectures and concerts and where it served during the War to shelter Belgian Refugees.

* Since 1910 the words Without and Within have been dropped from the names of the different parts of this Street. The whole thoroughfare is now known as Bishopsgate Street. The wards, however, retain the old names. Two tablets, one at the corner of Wormwood Street and the other at the corner of Camomile Street mark the position of the gate.

V

IN THE BYWAYS

NEVILLE'S COURT

I find it more pleasant to call attention to some old houses that still survive and I have in mind a group in Neville's Court, Fetter Lane. This narrow thoroughfare lies just outside the burnt area of the Great Fire and Neville's Court is a short passage leading from its east side. The house at number 10 seems to be no older than the seventeenth century but numbers 13, 14 and 15 are about a century older. Each of these little houses has its garden, and the group, nestling near the heart of the City, affords a very good idea of what London domestic architecture was like in the smaller houses before the great fire of 1666. How much longer they will escape destruction I cannot say, but when I think that the old houses, inns and churches that have been swept away in the last fifty years would make a fine city, I have no reason to suppose that Neville's Court will long survive. It is not my purpose to continue with a list of old buildings that are threatened with destruction; there are still enough to fill many pages of description, but those in Neville's Court will serve my sole purpose which is to introduce the reader to a sample of old London houses in one of the few quarters that survived the Great Fire.

ELY PLACE

There are some spots in London in which I have a special claim because they are identified with my personal adventures. They are defined in my consciousness, not so much as parts of London as parts of my individual life and experience. Or perhaps I ought to say that I think of myself as an essential part of each of them. It amounts to the same thing after all for the condition of ownership is mutual. I own my farm no more than my farm owns me. In regard to these favoured spots in London, the sense of ownership rests on discovery. That is the best way to know places. The place to which you are guided through human aid and intervention will try to elude you after you have been introduced to it; but the place to which you are guided by an uncatalogued impulse, blindly—by accident if you like, promptly adopts you. It somehow gives you the impression

that it has waited through the centuries for your coming. Your discovery, far from being due to blundering accident, records itself in your mind as a distinct achievement, highly gratifying to your pride and self esteem.

It was in this way that I found Ely Place, of which at the time of the discovery I had never heard. I had come out of Gray's Inn



The Cloisters of St. Etheldreda's, Ely Place. Built about the end of the 13th Century it was the private Chapel attached to the Town House of the Bishops of Ely.

through a narrow archway into Holborn and turned East towards the CITY. It was my intention to follow Holborn Viaduct into Newgate, but about Holborn Circus I went astray and turned into Charterhouse Street. On my left opened what looked like a short street with no thoroughfare, for it appeared to be closed at the farther end by a row of eighteenth century brick houses corresponding to the adjoining row on either side. The entrance from Charterhouse

Street had an iron gate that stood open. Inside was a brick lodge. The form and proportions of the Place were those of a deep and ample courtyard and there was not a living thing in sight for it seemed as deserted as the Court of Baalbek. It was quite impossible to go by; to turn aside was not merely human, it was predestination. I do not remember where I had been going that day, but I never arrived for I had discovered Ely Place.

I do not know how long I had been there before it revealed its name to me but for the time being the name meant nothing. What did I know of the Bishops of Ely and how was I to remember that Richard III had a taste for strawberries? I was too much absorbed to be curious about names. On the west side, imbedded in the brick-built fronts, was a stone chapel, gray and weatherworn with a small retired entrance. Wandering through the swept and garnished chapel where candles were burning at the altar, through the dim mediæval aisles and down into the crypt furnished for another chapel where more candles were burning, I lingered on amid the thirteenth century shades and the incense of St. Etheldreda's. Emerging again on the pavements overlooked by lawyers' offices, I found my way into a narrow cleftlike passage near the chapel and dined in the dim upper room of the Mitre Tavern where the mutton was good and the potatoes were good and the ale was good. And when I went home, all that I knew of the history of Ely Place was what was told me by the handsome and engaging girl that waited on me at the Sign of the Mitre which, carved over the door, seemed to confirm her story that some part of that deeply hidden tavern ensconced in London's heart is a surviving relic of the town house of the Bishops of Ely.

Now it so happened that on the same day I had lunched early and well at Crosby Hall in Bishopsgate, for old Crosby Hall was in use as a restaurant at the time of which I write. In consequence I had stopped afterwards at a second hand book store in Charing Cross Road to get a copy of Richard III to recall the connection between that play and Crosby Hall. I did not know that the same play would take me back to Ely Place. That night in my rooms in St. James's Place I came upon these lines in King Richard III.

Duke of Gloucester—My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn I saw good strawberries in your garden there. I do beseech you send for some of them.

Bishop of Ely—Marry, I will my Lord, with all my heart.

I had seen no strawberries in Ely Place—nothing nearer than the two cheeks of the pretty serving maid in the Mitre who told me that the narrow passage by which I had reached the Inn opened at the



The White Hart Inn, Bishopsgate Street Without. From a drawing in the Soane Collection made by George Shepherd in 1810. This illustration is reduced by permission from a print made by Emery Walker and published in 1921 by the London Topographical Society.

other end on a street called Hatton Gardens, formerly the gardens belonging to Ely Place when the Bishops of Ely lived there, but now the quarter of the diamond merchants. That was where Richard saw the strawberries.

If you will walk through Holborn Circus toward Ely Place on any night after ten o'clock, you will find the gates closed and if you

will observe the little lodge within at the stroke of the hour you will see a strange performance for a twentieth century setting. A Person—apparently a very important Person—emerges from the lodge door. He is dressed in a mediæval fashion with a gold laced hat and he carries a lantern in his hand. Proceeding to the upper end of Ely Place and returning on the opposite side he calls out at intervals according to the hour and the weather. "Past twelve o'clock and raining hard—All's well" or "Past two o'clock and a clear frosty night—All's well." He has been doing that regularly at every hour of every night for 632 years.

Whoever asks why this ancient watch is kept asks a very foolish question. It is a risky thing to give up any right or privilege that may belong to you, no matter how useless or obsolete it may appear. You never can tell at what moment it may become of immense importance.

The Northwestern boundary of the CITY OF LONDON runs just outside the gate of Ely Place which is thus imbedded in the heart of the Metropolis, hard against that Stronghold of Power and Privilege over which the Lord Mayor presides. But the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London have no jurisdiction over Ely Place. The CITY police at their posts of duty look through the gates but they have no authority within and the London police do not intrude where their duties do not call them. The Metropolitan police likewise, who rule and represent law and order on the other side of Ely Place, have no power whatever within its territory. It is exempt from external authority. If you ask how this right was acquired, I confess that I do not know. The explanation is buried somewhere in the history of Ely Place but it would probably require a mining operation to get it out. A more practical question that concerns you personally is what would happen if you should pick a pocket in Ely Place. I do not know for certain but I think you would be offered Benefit ~~by~~ Clergy which means that you would certainly be hanged. (See page 303.)

This is the history of Ely Place as I have pieced it together from various sources. In 1320 John Kirkeby, Bishop of Ely, bequeathed to the See his house in Holborn. His successor, William de Luda, built the chapel dedicated to St. Etheldreda. Another Bishop added a vineyard, a kitchen garden and an orchard. Thomas de Arundal in the later half of the 14th century built a great gatehouse or frontage towards Holborn. John of Gaunt, brother of the Black

Prince, was living in Ely Place towards the end of the 14th century as the guest of the Bishop of Ely, after the burning of his own Palace of the Savoy in the Strand. He died there in 1399. During the troubled times following the death of Henry VIII when Somerset was Protector, Ely Place was the scene of plots and intrigues led by Warwick. In Elizabeth's reign, it became the residence of Christo-



The Golden Axe Inn, St. Mary's Axe. From a photograph taken about forty years ago for the Society for Photographing Old Buildings.

pher Hatton, a favourite of the Queen, afterwards her Chancellor. On behalf of this Discovery of hers, whom she first met when she danced with him at a revel in the Temple, Elizabeth persuaded the Bishop of Ely to relinquish his town house, and it is said that the form of persuasion used was pretty high handed. Hatton thus obtained a lease of Ely Place for a period of 21 years for a rent of a

red rose, ten loads of hay and £10, the Bishop reserving the right to walk in the garden and to gather therefrom twenty bushels of roses annually. Strawberries are not mentioned in the lease but there is no doubt that Ely Place gardens were famous for both strawberries and roses. Hatton built himself a mansion within these gardens and there, when he was sick, the Queen visited him daily, and when



One of the Old Houses in Nevilles Court, Fetter Lane, that escaped the Great Fire.

she had made him Lord Chancellor he proceeded in great State from Ely Place to Westminster. The Bishops of Ely never recovered full title to their property. Before the lease expired there was a special grant of the Crown confirming Hatton and his heirs in the ownership of the Estate. After his death it was occupied by his nephew and heir, another Christopher Hatton, whose wife played a rather conspicuous part in later years as the second wife of the great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke.

Bacon and Coke were rival suitors of the young widow and the lady's choice fell on the lawyer and I think it served him right, for she made his life a burden. She was a Cecil *and* a Devil and proud on both accounts. She had reason enough to be proud, for that family—I mean the Cecils, not the Devils—has I suppose produced as much greatness as any family in the world and in the person of Lady Hatton it concentrated its great energies in the production of a piece of feminine perversity that would make the most conspicuous examples of today look pale and vapid. She stripped her husband's rooms in Ely House of all their furnishings and made them uninhabitable. When she entertained King James, her husband was not of the company, and finally she denied him access to the house altogether. When he tried to arrange a marriage between his daughter and Sir John Villiers, brother of the Duke of Buckingham, his wife stole the girl away and hid her. Coke applied to the Privy Council for a warrant of recovery. This being refused by Bacon, he discovered the girl's hiding place and took her away by force without a warrant. Then his wife applied in turn for a warrant that was granted at once by Bacon who supported his former attachment and opposed his old rival, so the girl passed again into the custody of Lady Coke. It is hard to withhold sympathy from a man in such domestic affliction, but remembering the way that Sir Edward Coke conducted the trial of Raleigh, I can only say it served him right.

When Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, arrived in England, the Crown, still exercising some measure of control over Ely Place assigned him Ely House as his residence. This brought him into rather close relations with Lady Coke who was living in the adjoining Mansion in Hatton Gardens—Hatton House. She and Gondomar soon quarreled and their encounters threatened to become an international incident. To annoy the Ambassador the lady closed her garden gate so that he was unable to go in or out privately as he wished to do but must use the front door where he was subjected to well planned annoyances. Their classic quarrels are among the legends of Ely Place.

The next tenant of Ely House was the Duke of Richmond who received it of the Crown. The Duke died soon after the occupation and for a period the two houses of Ely Place—Ely House and Hatton House—plotted against each other under the generalship of their respective occupants, Lady Coke and the Duchess of Richmond. To get rid of her rival the Duchess made an offer to buy Hatton

House. Its occupant seemed to favour the proposal and named a price carefully calculated at a ruinous figure. The Duchess agreed to the price and a contract was drawn up. The contention however was only intensified and when Lady Coke one day complained of the



Numbers 14 and 15 Neville's Court, Fetter Lane, one of the Old Houses that escaped the Great Fire. This and the last picture may be taken as examples of the smaller dwelling houses of London in the 16th and 17th Centuries, as the two shown on p. 271 and p. 272 may be taken as examples of larger houses of the same periods and earlier.

terms of the contract, the Duchess promptly took her at her word and left the house on her hands.

The Duchess of Richmond continued to live in great magnificence at Ely Place beside her rival. A contemporary gives the following description of the Duchess going to Ely Chapel.

She went to her Chapel at Ely House with her four principal officers marching before her in velvet gowns, with white staves, three gentlemen ushers, and two

ladies to bear her train, the Countesses of Bedford and Montgomery, and other ladies following in couples, etc.; but all this does not bring down the pride of Lady Hatton [Lady Coke], who contests much with her about their bargains and the house.

In 1762 the last Lord Hatton died and the rights that the family had held in Ely Place for nearly two hundred years reverted to the Crown. The Bishops of Ely however still retained some claim which they surrendered in 1772 in exchange for a house in Dover Street, now the Albemarle Club. Two years later the two famous houses were taken down and nothing remained but the old Chapel of St. Etheldreda. After lying unoccupied for a long time the Chapel was used by the Welsh Episcopalians till 1871. In 1874 it was sold by auction for £5250 and bought by the Lazarist Fathers. It has since been restored to its former condition, many of the wealthy families of England contributing. The large East and West windows were put into their present state of repair by the Duke of Norfolk and these windows are the most striking features of the interior of one of the most beautiful and enchanting chapels to be seen anywhere. Built in the last years of the 13th century or the first years of the 14th, having escaped the dangers of the Dissolution and survived the Great Fire, the Chapel of St. Etheldreda is today the only pre-Reformation chapel in England, so I am told, that belongs to the Roman Catholics.

Curran, the Irish patriot, lived in a house on one side of Ely Place. Opposite was a small piece of blank wall. Curran's brother, with whom he had a feud, erected against that wall a little booth and hung out a cobbler's sign with the family name conspicuously painted. There he sat and mended shoes and when he was not at home he hung a sign on the door—"Inquire at the house opposite." I think this must be an incident that Stevenson makes use of in *The Master of Ballantrae* though he lays the scene in New York.

VI

THE WOMEN OF LONDON

"As for the Women of the City, they are Sabines." In these words of praise Fitzstephen wrote with feeling of the London women for there is both feeling and finality in that summing up—*Sabinae sunt*.

Near the centre of London in conspicuous positions are to be seen five memorials to women, not all of whom are modern for they cover a period of eighteen centuries and a half. One is the memorial of Queen Boadicea facing the Clock Tower and the houses of Parliament on the Embankment. Another is Charing Cross erected in 1289 to the memory of Queen Eleanor. It was held in so much affection and esteem by the Londoners that after it had stood for 358 years a fanatical government, during a brief interval of power destroyed it as an *idol*. It is now represented by the cross in front of Charing Cross Station and its original position is marked by the Equestrian Statue of Charles I. It has given its name to the locality that is the official centre of London and the legends of six centuries cluster round it. The third monument in this remarkable group is the Victoria Memorial in front of Buckingham Palace; the fourth is the monument to Florence Nightingale on the Crimean War Memorial in Waterloo Place, and the fifth is the monument to Edith Cavell close to Trafalgar Square.

The presence of these monuments, standing where they do, invite a moment's reflexion with a gentle reproof for the unfounded legend that the odds have been against women in England's Capital. The significance of these monuments is plain. They imply no lack of consideration and distinction, for the women of London have always occupied a position of equality, dignity and independence.

Except on the battlefield they played life's great game the same as men. The rules were the same, the risks were the same, the rewards the same, the penalties the same. Like men, they rose to power and affluence and with men they stood in the dock and the pillory or went to the scaffold, the stake* and the block. In the

* The last burning of a woman convicted of crime in London took place in 1789. It was customary to strangle the victim before the fire was applied. In 1790 the law was repealed.

matter of monuments they have rather the best of it. Their inequalities were the natural inequalities of sex and not the artificial or conventional inequalities of custom or of law.

Like women everywhere the women of London took their share of the burden in time of trouble, and there are abundant records



The Statue of Charles I that stands on the site formerly occupied by Charing Cross.

to show that they bore their part always with strength, nobility and devotion. It is equally clear that the women of London enjoyed themselves. From the earliest times down through the Middle Ages they never failed to get their share of life's pleasures, of which there was ample provision both in the form of work and in the form of play. Those who lived in the Great Houses, the Castles and Palaces, were

brought up in the knowledge of household management; they learned the mysteries of spinning and weaving with all the gentle arts and crafts that pertain thereto. In embroidery and the working of tapestries their skill was proven. They made things for themselves and exercised great care in their dress. They gave banquets in their halls and they sat with their husbands at the great feasts in the Halls of the City Companies. They sang and played on their instruments and listened to professional singers and players and watched professional dancers. They knew a great many games including chess and cards; they went riding and joined in the hawking and in



The Wine Vaults at London Dock. There are said to be 18 miles of these gangways, stored with barrels of Sherry wine and Madeira wine.

the hunt. Their gardens were a special delight—their private pleasure grounds where there was no intrusion; they read romances; they danced in the garden; they wove wreaths and garlands; they entertained their knights; they gossiped; they also went to Mass.

Women engaged in trade. In the numerous class of shopkeepers and craftsmen they were found in many occupations though they belonged to no guilds or combinations of any kind. Whether married or single, a woman could carry on business in her own name and in entire independence of husband or male relative who was not responsible for her debts and who had no claim on her earnings. If she got into debt she took the penalty and her husband was not troubled.

Some of them were honest, some cheated their customers by ingenious tricks and some were put in the stocks for such knavery and for selling bad beer or rotten fish. There was one unfortunate fishwife who had to stand in the stocks all day with her stinking fish under her nose. Sometimes they got drunk and sometimes they raised a rumpus. Some of them were scolds or shrews for whom the cruel branks had to be invented. But most of them were clean living, cheerful, quiet and industrious women, not afraid of toil—or of men, earning their own living by their labour and their wits and respected according to their merits. Of course numerous women were engaged in domestic service and there were matrons who managed the details



Old Chingford Church, London. It stands in the extreme East near the Border of Epping Forest.

of work in the great houses, and others who looked after the sick. There were Sisters of Mercy. There were also adventuresses, flappers and vamps.

Here are some of the recorded admonitions, quoted by Besant, of a middle class mother to her daughter concerning a becoming conduct—She must attend church and pay the dues. She must pray without whispering or laughing. She must not toss her head in the street but bear herself modestly. She must not get drunk. Of good ale she must drink reasonably. She must not go to wrestling matches or cockfights. If a strange man should greet her in the street she must greet him in turn but by no means continue the conversation.

She must not envy her neighbour in better circumstances but treat all alike with kindness. If any man should make her an offer of marriage she must treat him with special courtesy and consideration no matter what his condition but she must not sit with him under circumstances that might cause scandal. When she marries she must love her husband and answer him meekly. In the running of her house she must set everyone to work early, including herself if necessary, and she must be a good mother to her children.

In that great and marvellous age that goes by the name of Elizabethan there lived a Puritan writer by the name of Phillip Stubbes who took great delight in damning people's souls, especially those of his own countrymen and countrywomen. His genial writings make delightful reading and they contain much information. After consigning the men to the place where they obviously belonged he gives a charming account of the women which I reproduce in part.

The women . . . colour their faces with certain oyles, liquors, unguentes and waters made to that end, whereby they think their beautie is greatly decored: but who seethe not that their soules are thereby deformed, . . . they brought deeper into the displeasure and indignation of the Almighty, at whose voice the earth dooth tremble. . . . For in this dooing, they plainly convince the Lord of untrueth in his word, who saith he made man glorious. . . . If he be thus faire, what need they make them fayrer? Therfore this their coulouring of their faces importeth . . . that they think themselves not faire enough, and then must God needs be untrue in his woord.

And also they deny the Lord to be either merciful or almightie, or bothe, and so consequently no God at all; for if he could not have made them faire, then is hee not almightie; and if hee could and would not, then is hee not a merciful God. . . .

Then followeth the trimming and tricking of their heds in laying out their hair to the shewe, which of force must be curled, frised and crisped, laid out . . . on wreathes and borders from one eare to an other. . . .

If curling, and laying out of their own naturall heyre weare all . . . it were the lesse matter; but they are not simply contente with their owne haire, but buy other heyre, dying it of what color they list themselves: . . . and . . . if any have heyre which is not faire inough, than will they dye it into diverse colors, almost chaungeinge the substance into accidentes by their dyvelish, and more than thrise cursed devyses. . . .

Than, on toppes of these stately turrets . . . stand their other capitall ornaments, as French hood, hat, cap, kercher, and suche like; wherof some be of velvet, some of taffatie, some (but few) of woll, some of this fashion, some of that, and some of this color, some of that, according to the variable fantasies of their serpentine minds. And to such excesse is it growen as every artificers wyfe (almost) will not stick to goe in her hat of velvet everye day, every marchants wyfe and

meane gentlewoman in her French hood, and everye poore cottagers daughter in her taffatie hat, or els of wool at least, well lined with silk, velvet or taffatie. But how they come by this (so they have it) they care not; who payeth for it they regard not, nor yet what hurt booth to themselves and others it dooth bring, they feare not. . . .

They have also other ornaments besydes these to furnish forth their ingenious heads, which they cal . . . cawles, made netwyse, to th' ende, as I thinke, that the clothe of gold, cloth of silver, or els tinsell . . . wherwith their heads are covered and attyred with all underneath their cawles may appeare, and shewe it selfe in the bravest manner. Soe that a man that seethe them (there heads glisten and shine in suche sorte) wold thinke them to have golden heads. . . .

The women . . . use great ruffes, and neckerchers of holland, lawne, camerick, and such cloth, as the greatest thred shall not be so bigge as the least haire that is: then, least they should fall down, they are smeared and starched in the devils liquore, I meane *starch*; after that dryed with great diligence, streaked, patted, and rubbed very nicely, and so applyed to their goodly necks, and, withall, underpropped with supportasses . . . the statelie arches of pride: beyond all this they have a further fetch, nothing inferiour to the rest; as, namely, three or foure degrees of minor ruffes, placed gradatim, step by step, one beneath another, and all under the maister devil ruffe. . . . Then, last of all, they are either clogged with golde, silver, or silk lace of stately price, wrought all over with needle work, speckled and sparkled heer and there with the sonne, the moone, the starres, and many other antiquities straunge to beholde. Some are wrought with open woorke down to the midst of the ruffe and further, some with purled lace so cloyd, and other gewgawes so pestred, as the ruffe is the least parte of it self. Sometimes they are pinned up to their eares, sometimes they are suffered to hang over their shoulders, like windmil sayles fluttering in the winde; and thus every one pleaseth herself with her foolish devices. . . .

The women also have dublets and jerkins, as men have, buttoned up the brest, and made with wings, welts, and pinions on the shoulder points, as man's apparel is for all the world; and though this be a kinde of attire appropriate onely to man, yet they blush not to wear it, and if they could as well chaunge their sex, and put on the kinde of man, as they can weare apparell assigned onely to man, I think they would as verely become men indeed, as now they degenerat from godly, sober women in wearing this wanton lewd kinde of attire, proper onely to man. . . .

There gownes be no lesse famous also; for some are of silk, some of velvet, some of gogram, some of taffatie, some of scarlet, and some of fine cloth, of ten, twentie, or fortie shillings a yard. But if the whole gowne be not silke or velvet, then the same shall be layed with lace, two or three fingers broad, all over the gowne, or els the most parte.

Or, if not so (as lace is not fine enough sometimes), then it must be garded with great gardes of velvet, four or five fingers broad at the least, and edged with costly lace; and as these gownes be of divers and sundrie colors, so are they of divers fashions, changing with the moon, for some be of the new fashion, some of the olde, some of this fashion, and some of that, some with sleeves hanging down to their skirts, trayling on the ground, and cast over their shoulders, like cow-tayles.

Some have sleeves much shorter, cut up the arme, and pointed with silk-ribbons very gallantly, tyed with true-looves knottes (for so they call them).

Some have capes reaching downe to the middest of their backs, faced with velvet, or els with some fine wrought silk taffatie at the least, and fringed about very bravely; and (to shut up all in a word) some are pleated and ryveled down the back wonderfully, with more knacks than I can declare. Then have they petticots of the best cloth that can be bought, and of the fairest dye that can be made. And sometimes they are not of cloth neither, for that is thought to base, but of scarlet, grogram, taffatie, silk, and such like, fringed about the skirts with fringe of chaungable coloure. But which is more vayn, of whatsoever their petticots be, yet must they have kirtles (for so they call them) eyther of silk, velvet, grogram, taffatie, saten, or scarlet, bordered with gards, lace, fringe, and I cannot tell what besydes. So that when they have all these goodly robes uppon them, women seeme to be the smallest part of themselves, not naturall women, but artificiaall women; not women of flesh and blod, but rather puppets or mawmets of rags and clowtes compact together. So farre hath this cancker of pride eaten into the body of the common welth, that every poore yeoman his daughter, every husband man his daughter, and every cottager his daughter, will not spare to flaunt it out in such gownes, petticots, and kirtles as these. And not withstanding that their parents owe a brase of hundred pounds more than they are worth, yet will they have it, . . . eyther by hooke or crooke, by right or wrong, as they say, wherby it commeth to passe that one can scarsly know who is a noble woman, who is an honorable or worshippfull woman from them of the meaner sorte.

Their parents and freinds are muche to be blamed for suffering them to go in suche wanton attyre. They should not allowe them such large pittance, nor suffer them to measure their apparell after their own licentious yardes of selfe will, and wicked desires. . . .

Their netherstockes, in like maner, are either of silke gearnsey, worsted, crewell, or, at least, of as fyne yarn, thread, or cloth, as is possible to be had, cunningly knit and curiously indented in every point: whereto they have korked shooes, pinsnets, pantoffles, and slippers, some of black velvet, some of white, some of greene, and some of yellowe; some of Spanish leather, and some of English lether, stitched with silk, and imbrodered with gold and silver all over the foote, with other gewgawes innumerable. All which if I should endeouvre my selfe to expresse, I might with more facilitye number the sands of the sea, the starres of the sky, or the grasse uppon the earth, so infinit and innumerable be their abuses. For weare I never so experte an arithmetician, or mathematician, I weare never capable of the halfe of them, the devill brocheth soe many new fashions every day. . . .

After all this, when they have attired them selves in the midst of their pride, it is a world to consider their coynesse in gestures, their minsednes in woords and speaches, their gingerlynes in trippinge on toes like yong goats, their demure nicitie and babishnes, and withall their hawtie stomackes and more than Cyclopicall countenances. Their fingers are decked with gold, silver and precious stones, their wristes with bracelets and armlets of gold, and other preciouise jewels: their hands are covered with their sweet washed gloves, imbrodered with gold, silver, and what not; and to such abomination is it grown, as they must have their looking glasses

caryed with them whersoever they go. And good reason, for els how cold they see the devil in them? for no doubt they are the devils spectacles to allure us to pride, and consequently to distruction for ever. And above al things they must have their silk scarffes cast about their faces, and fluttering in the winde, with great tassels at every end, either of gold, or silver, or silk. But I know wherfor they wil say they weare these scarfes; namely, to keep them from sun-burning; but I would aske these nicelings one question, wheren if they can resolve mee, then I will say as they say, that scarffes are necessary, and not flags of pride. Can that thing which is moste glorious and fair of it self make any thing foule or ilfavored? The sun is a most glorious and fair creature, and therfor cannot make them fowler than they are of their own nature. . . . They busie themselves in preserving the beautie of their bodyes, which lasteth but for a time . . . but for the beautie of the soule they care nothing at all. When they use to ride abroad they have invisories, or visors made of velvet, wherwith they cover all their faces, having holes made in them against their eyes, whereout they look. So that if a man, that knew not their guise before, should chaunce to meet one of them, hee would think he met a monster or a devil, for face hee can see none, but two brode holes against her eyes with glasses in them. Thus they prophane the name of God, and live in all kinde of voluptuousnes and pleasure, wursse than ever did the heathen. . . . (The Anatomie of Abuses.)

To what extent the women of London took part in public affairs, I do not know, but that they could take part and assert themselves in organized force upon occasion is proved by the following incident. In 1427 the Duke of Gloucester, uncle of the young King Henry, was Regent and the story concerns the extraordinary fortunes of his first wife Jacqueline of Brabant. She was connected with the House of Burgundy and in childhood she was married to the child prince John, son of Charles VI of France, and was left a widow at 16 when she was married to her imbecile cousin the Duke of Brabant with whom she refused to live, and leaving him came to England. The Duke of Gloucester fell in love with her and induced the Pope to grant a bull declaring her marriage null and void. He then married her and proposed to Brabant that he surrender the lady's estates. This request was flatly refused and Gloucester—Duke Humphrey he was called—collected 5000 men and crossed the channel to compel the reluctant Brabant to make restitution. It seems that he could not find his enemy and here the mystery begins, for his conduct from that time forward needs explanation which has never been forthcoming. Leaving his wife at Mons, he suddenly returned to England. Jacqueline was taken prisoner and conducted to Holland; she escaped in the disguise of a soldier and wandered about until, in distress, her sufferings induced her to surrender herself to Burgundy who exacted an

agreement by which she denounced her marriage with Gloucester as illegal and named Burgundy her heir, Brabant having died about this time. The rest of poor Jacqueline's story is pathetic enough but it does not concern the public appearance of the women of London in an organized body. That happened about the time when the deserted wife was a refugee from her relatives on the Continent. The London women were fully informed of what was happening—just



The Chapel Royal of the Savoy in the Strand. The Palace of the Savoy was built in 1295 by Peter, Earl of Savoy and Richmond, uncle of Eleanor, wife of Henry III. It passed to the Duchy of Lancaster to which it still pertains. The King being Duke of Lancaster it is crown property and hence the Chapel is designated the Chapel Royal of the Savoy. For some reason it is called also St. Mary le Savoy, though it was apparently dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The entire palace, at that time the dwelling of John of Gaunt, was burnt down by Wat Tyler and his followers in 1381. Rebuilt, it passed through many vicissitudes including a long experience as a hospital and nothing remains now but the Chapel that was restored in 1505. In 1864 it was damaged by fire and restored by Queen Victoria at her own expense.

For a long time up to the year 1754 the chapel was a place for clandestine marriages. As late as January, 1754, the following advertisement appeared in the public advertiser.

"By authority.—Marriages performed with the utmost privacy, decency and regularity, at the Ancient Royal Chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Savoy, there regular and authentic registers have been kept from the time of the Reformation (being two hundred and fifty years and upwards) to this day. The expense not more than one guinea, the five shilling stamp included. There are five private ways by land to this Chapel, and two by water."

how I cannot say for there were no newspapers and anyway most of them could not read. Being informed, it is natural that they should sympathize with the sorrows of a lady who through no fault of her own was deprived of her rights, deserted by her husband, and persecuted by her family—a wanderer in disguise. Their sympathy found public expression. They got together. Their speakers made themselves heard at Paul's Cross where they denounced the conduct



St. Helen's Church, Bishopsgate. The plan is that of two parallel naves, without aisles. The two were formerly divided by a screen. One was used by the Parish and the other by a Convent of Nuns. Founded in the early 13th Century, it is one of the few churches that escaped the Great Fire. It contains the tombs of many CITY worthies and a beautiful memorial tablet to the men of the Parish killed in the War.

of the Regent and demanded redress. Next, when the oratory had worked sufficiently, they marched to Westminster very quietly and sedately, taking care not to break anything and laid a petition before the Commons setting forth their complaint against the Regent on behalf of his Duchess. Afterwards the men of London themselves made representations to Parliament urging some measures of relief for the unfortunate lady. But it was the women of London who first took up her cause. What might have come of it no one knows for when the news came to London that Jacqueline had declared her

marriage to have been unlawful she lost the sympathy of London. The Duke's conduct throughout remains a mystery but his own end and the outcome of his second venture in marriage are clear enough. They belong in the story of Tyburn.

During the Civil War (1642-49) the London women were apparently on the side of the King. The War seemed to drag on interminably and London was suffering great hardship owing to the stoppage of all trade. The women got up a petition calling upon Parliament to make peace. That petition was expressed in terms remarkable for their force and eloquence, but the proceedings of the women were even more forceful. Assembling to the number of some five thousand with white ribbons in their hats so that all might know their sentiments, they went to Westminster and presented their petition. Parliament read it and sent a mild answer accompanied by a request that the petitioners go home. The women did not go home. They said they wanted "the traitors who were making war." They shouted, "Give us the dog Pym." Then Parliament sent for the soldiers who were received by the women with bricks and stones. Then the troops fired and the women dispersed.

There remains to be mentioned—with all consideration, that inevitable class that, according to Besant, used to be described in old London as the Single Women. Inevitable they were because there were always many single men. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we find these women ordered to wear an approved plain habit, not to make themselves too attractive, as though any woman would obey such an order! Then they were ordered to keep within Bankside and Cock Lane in Smithfield. Sometimes a Lord Mayor and Aldermen would try to banish the Single Women from the City altogether but they never succeeded. They dressed in finery and made themselves beautiful; they were at the Court, the Great House, the tavern, the street. They were dancers, singers—anything they pleased. Some of them were doubtless very bad. That there were among them women who for their generous natures and warm sympathies were remembered with affection by many when hardship and sorrow had done for them—the Jane Shores and Nell Gwynnes—London still bears witness. There was from time out of mind and perhaps there still is near Bankside a plot of ground, an acre called the Churchyard of the Single Women. There were no tombstones and nothing to indicate the graves, but it was kept green. Perhaps, ten thousand years from now, when great London is as desolate as the

plain of windy Troy whence legend says it sprang—perhaps when the world has become as virtuous as it sometimes thinks it would like to be, some delving seeker after truth may uncover on the site of London a monument with the inscription To The Memory of The Single Women. It would be interesting to see how he would interpret the legend.

Good old Fitzstephen, when he wrote of the women of London did not arrange them in classes. Without distinction he recognized in them a type of womanhood. With that thought and that example in my mind I would like to write across the pages of this chapter the words of the old traveller—*SABINAE SUNT*.

VII

TYBURN

Sometimes on a clear morning after rain if you happen to cross Green Park you may see a streak of white mist stretching from the dip in Piccadilly to the Mall. That line of mist marks the course of the brook Tyburn where it flows underground. Its hidden course leads to the pond in Saint James's Park and thence by Westminster to the Thames. It takes its rise in Hampstead, flows under Regent's Park, thence down Marylebone Lane crossing Oxford Street at Stratford Place, thence to Brook Street, Lansdowne Gardens and Half Moon Street, across Piccadilly and Green Park, by Buckingham Palace and St. James's Park to Westminster and the Thames. In other days it was an open stream that gave its name to a spot, which, though bearing no trace of its claim to remembrance, must remain forever one of the landmarks of old London. Stand at the northern end of Park Lane opposite the northeast corner of Hyde Park. With your back towards the line of Oxford Street, High Holborn, Newgate and the CITY and your face towards the Marble Arch, you have Watling Street, the ancient Roman road to the North, running away on your right towards Edgware, and in front you have Bayswater Road running westward. It was the junction of these two roads that made the place historic ground, for at that junction the gallows stood and this is Tyburn, ancient Tyburn, tragic Tyburn. No situation in London recalls more intense or indelible memories than this and no monument in London has a longer weird to keep or a greater fame to hold than Marble Arch* that marks the place of Tyburn Tree, old Deadly Never Green. Their tale is not recorded in the marble and their names are not written on the arch. I mean the names of those who came from Newgate over there to wear the Tyburn Tippet in view of the crowd. Commonly the tippet was made of fur or wool, something soft and warm to wear about the neck, but the Tyburn Tippet was made of hemp; it was hard and cold; it was the hangman's rope. For six hundred years the public gallows stood at Tyburn for it was

* There is a plate in the pavement marking the exact spot where the gallows stood but the Marble Arch is near enough.

there in the twelfth century and it was last used in 1783, before it was moved to Newgate. If you are in the habit of saying a prayer at Smithfield, take time for two when you visit the Marble Arch and recall a few of the forgotten scenes.

Between Tower Hill and Tyburn no one was overlooked. Everyone in the realm was provided for against a day of reckoning. From the sovereign to his meanest subject, all were included in the service of these two stations. Kings, queens, princes, great ladies, noblemen of every rank went to Tower Hill and the block, while the common people went to Tyburn and the gallows. The way of justice was swift and straight—swift as the descending axe and straight as the hangman's rope. The only difference was defined by a horizontal plane and that was as level and as clear cut as the scales of justice on the top of Old Bailey. It was the plane between the nobleman and the commoner. The Tower and block were reserved for people of rank charged with high treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours. Tyburn Tree was for commoners convicted of treason, murder, manslaughter or felony. The crime of felony included theft, robbery, sorcery, coin clipping, forgery, slander, sending horses to Scotland and several other awful misdeeds.

It is essential to our understanding of London to mark the fact that though a commoner could not qualify for Tower Hill, his descendants might and did so qualify. Likewise though a nobleman never wore the Tyburn Tippet his ancestors might. A single example selected from many will serve to illustrate. Geoffrey Boleyn, alderman and merchant, was the grandfather of Anne Boleyn and ancestor of Queen Elizabeth, Lord Nelson and the Earl of Kimberly. Moreover, younger branches of noble houses were frequently London merchants, so that when a merchant's daughter married a peer, a common occurrence, she might be marrying her own cousin. Yet the gulf between the gallows and the block was not diminished.

For treason a commoner was hanged, drawn and quartered. He was allowed to swing long enough to convince him that he was as good as dead, but not long enough to render him insensible of the fact that he was still alive. He was then taken down, stripped naked and marked for the final operation. A sharp knife point was drawn over his body marking with a series of incisions certain lines to guide the executioner in his work. This done, his entrails were removed and then his body was divided into four quarters. Finally his head was cut off to be placed on the gate of London Bridge, or else on

Temple Bar. Treason was the greatest crime and merited the greater punishment. Other malefactors were simply hanged. The great prison for common malefactors was Newgate, whence when sentenced to capital punishment they rode in a cart to Tyburn.

It seems to have been customary for the headsman at the Tower to apologize to his victim before performing his duty and it was customary for the noble victim to accept the apology. Whether it was customary for the Tyburn hangman to apologize, I do not know, I have not found it mentioned, but I should not be greatly surprised to find mention of it. I should be rather more surprised to learn that his apology was invariably accepted.

There is no room in these pages for the toll of those who wore the Tyburn Tippet but I must make room for a few incidents that show how swift and merciless was the law and how straight the ways of justice. Once during the reign of Edward I a goldsmith in a quarrel with a tailor wounded his adversary and thinking he had killed him took refuge in the Church of Saint Mary le Bow in Cheapside. In the morning his body was found hanging in the Church tower. The coroner found a verdict of suicide and the body of the poor goldsmith was taken outside the City and thrown into a ditch according to custom. Then a boy came forward and told how he had been hiding in Bow Church tower on the fatal night and had seen men enter the church and hang the goldsmith. It was then discovered that a certain woman had planned the murder and prevailed upon some men to put it into execution. For that one murder the woman was burnt and sixteen men were hanged at Tyburn all on the same day together.

A band of thieves broke into a man's house—it was in the reign of Henry II—and the owner, in defending his property, slashed off the hand of one of his assailants. The others then fled and the captive on being turned over to the authorities impeached his confederates, among whom was a rich and respected citizen named John Olde. He was allowed to prove his innocence by means of the Ordeal by Hot Water. The manner of the Ordeal by Hot Water was this. The person suspected was required to plunge his bare arm into a cauldron of boiling water and pick up a stone from the bottom. If the arm remained uninjured his innocence was established, otherwise he was adjudged guilty. John Olde went to the gallows with a badly scalded arm. I am not sure that I understand the theory of Ordeal by Hot Water. Of course any man's arm was sure to be scalded but on the

other hand it might be argued that any man was sure to be guilty of something even if he were innocent of the particular crime of which he was charged. If that was the theory of the Ordeal by Hot Water it was doubtless sound; otherwise it seems to me onesided.

Henry VI at the age of nineteen was a sickly lad and in the event of his death his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, would be King. Duke Humphrey's second wife, Eleanor, appears to have sought to bring about Henry's death by sorcery. That is the nature of the charge brought against her and four accomplices to wit, her chaplain, a canon of St. Stephen's, a man named Roger Bolingbroke a necromancer and Marjory Jourdemayne the Witch of Eye. The three men were sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered. The Canon died in his cell; the Chaplain was pardoned; Marjory, the Witch of Eye was burnt at Smithfield and Roger Bolingbroke the necromancer was first placed in the pillory at Paul's Cross with his wizard's implements hung upon him; then he was taken to Tyburn where he was hanged, drawn and quartered. Eleanor's punishment is another story. She was ordered to do penance which was performed in the following manner. She was taken in a barge from Westminster to the Temple Stairs where her maidens removed her robes and head-dress, wrapped her in a white sheet, and took off her shoes and stockings. Then with a taper in her hand she walked barefoot to Saint Paul's, preceded by trumpeters and attended by men at arms. On three separate days she went through this ceremony and on each day the Lord Mayor of London, the Sheriffs and representatives of the guilds met her in State at the stairs as she landed; for this woman, doing public penance barefoot on the rough pavements was a great lady, the wife of the Regent of England, brother of King Henry V. Thereafter the Duchess lived in seclusion at Chester till the end of her days.

A few years later, her husband, Duke Humphrey, was himself arrested for high treason and next day was found dead in his bed. Five of his associates were condemned and hauled to Tyburn. They were all hanged in the usual perfunctory manner common to these cases. Then they were cut down alive and stripped and marked according to the custom for those who were to be drawn and quartered. Just as the executioners were about to perform their office a messenger from the King arrived on the scene with a pardon. Meantime the hangman had appropriated the clothes of the five pardoned men. That was his right. Now arose a delicate point.

They demanded their clothes; the hangman refused their request. Even a hangman has his rights. It wasn't his fault that the men were pardoned. He kept the clothes and the five men went naked from Tyburn to the CITY where their friends received them with great joy.

In a newspaper published in London in the year 1824, I have read in the news of the day an account of two hangings. One of the victims had stolen a suit of clothes and a half crown; the other had cheated the Bank of England out of two hundred and sixty five thousand pounds. Both were hanged. This instance reminds us forcibly how times have changed in a hundred years. Today a man convicted of stealing a suit of clothes and half a crown might get ten days free board and lodging but a man who should cheat the Bank of England out of two hundred and sixty five thousand pounds today would expect a peerage.

On the days fixed for execution, the condemned prisoners at Newgate were turned into a room in the gatehouse. In that room their fetters were removed and their elbows pinioned. While preparations were being made for their departure certain writers whose business was very much like that of our reporters went about among them taking down their last statements or dying speeches or confessions from such as would oblige these early representatives of the press. Very often the principal actors were ready enough to oblige by sensational and highly coloured accounts of their exploits delivered with more bravado than veracity.

A Printer's Boy was muttering out that the Men stood still for Copy; upon which I perceived a slender Gentleman address himself to one of the Criminals in a low tone to the Effect That he would tip him as handsome a Coffin as a Man need desire if he would come down but half a dozen more Pages of Confession. The Prisoner, mighty elate at the Proposal, answered with an audible Voice, Sir, strike me as stiff as an Alderman's Wife in a Church Pew, if I don't oblige you. (From a contemporary 18th century account quoted by Besant.)

These dying confessions and last speeches of famous criminals and desperadoes were promptly printed and sold on the streets for a halfpenny a copy before the culprit had reached the gallows. The prison chaplain likewise was present in that gatehouse room in the interval before the departure of the prison guests on their last journey. He exhorted them to repent and think of their souls before it was too late. They treated him with indifference or with scorn. They boasted of their misdeeds. Here is a passage from a writer of

the eighteenth century who relates a personal experience in this room at Newgate at the departure of the prisoners.

A Turnkey kept jostling me to take notice of the Behaviour of a little rough fac'd Sailor, with a speckled Handkerchief hanging down to the Knees of his Breeches. That Man, said he, will turn out the Hero of the Tree and do Honour to our Execution; observe how negligently he palms his Prayer-Book, how disdainfully he treats the Exhortation, how steadfast are his Eyes on his Mawks, and how regardless of the Minister. Ah! adds he with a deep sigh, what a fine thing it is to die well, and what would I not give to be certain of making so good an End. (Ibid.)

Just outside Newgate, on the way to Tyburn, stands the Church of St. Sepulchre. Long ago a member of the Merchant Taylors Guild bequeathed a legacy of £50 to the Church to be used for a curious purpose. The provisions of the will were carried out in the following manner. At midnight before each execution, the bellman of St. Sepulchre's, with lantern in one hand and a bell in the other, took his stand beneath the wall of Newgate and ringing certain tolls on his bell repeated these foreboding measures.

All you that in the condemned hold do lie,
Prepare you, for tomorrow you shall die;
Watch all and pray, the hour is drawing near,
That you before the Almighty must appear;
Examine well yourselves, in time repent,
That you may not to eternal flames be sent.
And when St. Sepulchre's bell tomorrow tolls,
The Lord above have mercy on your souls.
Past twelve o'clock!

How they must have wanted to throw something at him!

In the morning after the prisoners had been led through the gate, they rested in front of the Church of St. Sepulchre where each received a nosegay. It was the custom to see that each prisoner had a nosegay as he started on his journey, for another benefactor had left the Church of St. Sepulchre a sum of money for that purpose. Next a procession was formed. The prisoners were loaded in a cart. They took their places according to a regular order of precedence which they looked to carefully like so many members of the House of Lords. The master of ceremonies had his hands full to place them in the proper order. The highwayman ranked above all others and occupied the seat of honour in the prison cart; next to him in dignity came the stage robber, then the forger, then the common crew of shoplifters, pickpockets and murderers. An eyewitness describes an incident that could not have been uncommon.

I remember having seen two gentlemen taking their last journey on this road in a two wheeled vehicle hung with solemn sable, who quarrelled as they went along over a question of precedence. (Ibid.)

In front of the procession went the Deputy Sheriff with his attendants, all on horseback; then came the cart draped in black, with constables walking beside and bringing up the rear. There were other and strange attendants in that procession—women of well to do appearance dressed in black, wearing black veils, who followed in carriages. Who were these respectable mourners in that gallows march? Were they relatives of the people in the cart who came to witness the last rites and to claim the bodies of their kin? Sometimes—yes, but you could not always tell. More often they would be resurrection women, body snatchers in the service of the Medical Faculty, who wanted bodies to dissect—they always want bodies to dissect. So these quiet and respectable looking women in black rode after the procession from Newgate to Tyburn. They witnessed the black cap drawn over the face of each prisoner in turn, they saw the Tyburn Tippet laid on each in turn, the highwayman still insisting on his right of precedence. They saw the cart drive off leaving its burden hanging in a row. They saw the highwayman kick off his shoes—a custom affected by his class as a last gesture of defiance to authority. That was the way to put it over. For an hour the resurrection women had to wait; that was the time required by law; then they were free to remove such bodies as they might claim, the bodies of such as had no friends on hand to do that service for them.

Two elderly Women decently dress'd in Black Crape, with their Faces veil'd over like a Woman of Quality, when she drives by the Door of her Mercer, were curs'd like a Box and Dice at a Hazard Table, as they pass'd down the Stairs, by a Surgeon; who withal said, they had lain as long in Bed as a Welch Dean and Chapter, so that there was hardly a possibility of their getting time enough to the Gallows to do their Duty. A pretty corpulent Man that stood near me, whose Plate Button Coat denoted him the Master of some publick House, was so kind as to inform me that these Gentlewomen were the Agents of the Surgeons, who gave them pretty good wages for personating the Parents of the dying Malefactors; for which purpose they attended in Hackney Coaches, as constantly at every Execution as Rain at a Review or Ladies at a Rape-Trial and seldom fail'd to bring off a Brace or two of Bodies for the use of their Masters the Gentlemen of the Faculty. (Ibid.)

BEN. But pr'ythee, Mat, what is become of thy brother Tom? I have not seen him since my return from transportation.

MAT. Poor brother Tom had an accident this time twelve-month, and so clever made a fellow he was that I could not save him from those flaying rascals the surgeons, and now, poor man, he is among the atomies at Surgeons' hall.

THE BEGGAR'S OPERA, Act II, Scene 1.

The route of the procession was through Newgate Street, High Holborn and Oxford Street. We are told that these streets were like a fair. I do not believe at all that we must take literally Hogarth's drawing of the scene but from all accounts it was a very motley crowd that lined that route and pursued their varied occupations, from picking pockets to selling gin and printed lists of prisoners with their records and last speeches. They cheered the handsome highwayman, sitting as jauntily as his pinioned arms would permit beside his coffin in his place of honour. He waved his free hands to the women and bowed in smiling acknowledgment of their cheery greetings.

POLLY. Methinks I see him already in the cart, sweeter and more lovely than the nosegay in his hand!—I hear the crowd extolling his resolution and intrepidity!—What volleys of sighs are sent from the windows of Holborn!

THE BEGGAR'S OPERA, Act I, Scene 12.

Polly might have added that her hero would be sitting in the place of honour claiming precedence of his meaner companions.

As for the common lot of thieves and murderers in the less elevated places on the cart, they received no attention whatever from the crowd. They were left to the exhortations of the Ordinary who went along with them and never ceased urging them to repentance. Sometimes there was a traveller in that cart, one who likewise sat beside her coffin, who could not fail to claim the sympathy of some in that seeming callous crowd. Sir Walter Besant has drawn a picture of that most melancholy sight, a woman with a baby in her arms in the gallows cart. The Ordinary might exhort, she neither saw nor heard him. She saw only her baby that would be taken from her at the gallows to be cared for by Charity, the charity that had been denied when she stole on her baby's account. Repent! What was repentance to her? Hellfire! That did not frighten her. Hope of Heaven! How could that be when her baby was to be taken from her at the foot of the gallows tree? She had stolen that it might live and she rode in the same cart with the handsome careless highwayman and the sullen murderer, but she did not whine or make a scene. It wasn't done.

It was all changed in 1783 when the gallows were drawn in from Tyburn to a space in front of Newgate where they stood till they retreated in 1868 within the prison yard. In 1904 that grim and impressive old prison was levelled to the ground and under its foundations was found a piece of the Roman Wall, for a Roman gateway

had stood on the site whence so many men and women set out on their journey to Tyburn.

Ordeal by Water and Ordeal by Fire, either of which a man might choose as an alternative to immediate hanging were rare in London, a fact that is easily understood. That either should have been chosen at all is less intelligible. Ordeal by Battle on the other hand was quite common, a fact not hard to understand. Who would not choose to fight his accuser when the alternative was hanging? Of course the gallows always stood ready for the man accused in case he lost the fight, a fact that gave him heart of grace and an added interest in the ordeal.

Ordeal by Fire and Ordeal by Hot Water were attended by priestly rites and elaborate ceremony. For the latter a special service was held, the accused made confession, swore solemn oaths, kissed holy relics, a sacred seal was placed on his exposed arm and he was escorted to the boiling cauldron by attendant priests. While psalms were sung he must plunge his arm into the depth of the cauldron and bring up a stone from the bottom. I believe there is at least one case on record where a fellow came through successfully and with smiling countenance. Of his three companions who followed, one went directly to the gallows with a horribly scalded arm and the other two lost heart at the last minute and were hanged beside him. It was at Smithfield that this ordeal took place and out of the four one went free, but I think there must have been jugglery or deception somewhere.

In the case of Ordeal by Battle there were no religious exercises or attendant priests, only well ordered lists and a set of strict rules. It was a fight in the open and many a lusty rogue in those lists proved his innocence and went free. It encouraged the accused to believe in the righteousness of his own cause. It also encouraged the accuser to keep in good physical condition and above all it provided a very good show. There is much to be said for Trial by Battle.

There was one other way by which a thief might cheat the gallows and a curious way it seems. It was by Benefit of ~~the~~ Clergy. That phrase is altogether misunderstood today because it suggests to the modern mind an officiating priest. It was something quite different. The word clergy had another meaning apart from the priesthood. In its other meaning it was equivalent to clerks, and as clerks were supposed to be able to read, clergy came to mean anyone who could read, that is a scholar. in a world where few could read. A criminal

up for his first offense might claim Benefit of Clergy in the terms of the law. If he could prove his ability to read he qualified for exemption from capital punishment. The test applied appears to have been certain passages selected from the Latin Psalms, either the beginning of the fifty first Psalm *Misere Mei, Deus*; or else the fifth Psalm, *Dominus pars hereditatis Mee*. What was to prevent a thief from learning the passages by heart and making himself familiar with the general appearance of the particular Psalm in which each passage belonged when it was pointed out to him in the Book?

I suppose there was nothing to prevent him and I suppose it would be a very incompetent thief who would pick a pocket without first learning to repeat a couple of verses from the Latin Psalms. Whether this strange law was meant to encourage learning or to give every thief a chance to escape the gallows at his first offense, I do not know. William Langland (1300-1366) has this admirable plea on behalf of a liberal education. "Well may the child bless the man who set him to learn books. Familiarity with literature has often saved a man body and soul. *Dominus pars hereditatis mee* is a good text; it has been known to save from Tyburn some twenty strong thieves. When ignorant thieves are strung up, see how the learned ones are saved."

That is absolutely the most honest argument on behalf of education that I have ever come across.

The lesson of Tyburn is this. If there is less crime in London than in any other City in the World, which is admittedly the case; if London is the most law abiding spot on earth, which it is, that distinction has been acquired at a price. The price was six centuries of Tyburn Tree.

VIII

MERRIE ENGLAND

Now it might be supposed by someone reading these brief abstracts relating to Tyburn that life in ancient London was a grim and terrible business. That is wholly a false conclusion. The great mass of the people went quietly about their business undisturbed. Moreover there were frequent pageants on the river and ridings in the City—such gorgeous shows as the Londoners have always enjoyed. Many tournaments were held and the population of all classes had their sports and pastimes. There was much to do in the way of work, for apart from its trade London was a city where all the crafts were cultivated. It was a busy London and a merry London in the Middle Ages.

Take for example this from our old twelfth century friend Fitzstephen, the monk of Canterbury.

Without one of the gates is a certain field, Smooth both in name and situation. Every Friday, except some greater festival come in the way, there is a brave sight of gallant horses to be sold: Many come out of the City to buy or look on, to wit, Earls, Barons and Knights, Citizens, all resorting hither. It is a pleasant sight there to behold the Nags, well fleshed, sleek and shining, delightfully walking, and their feet on either side up and down together by turns; or also trotting horses which are more convenient for men that bear arms: these, although they set a little harder, go away readily and lift up and set down together the contrary Feet on either Side. Here are also young colts of a good Breed, that have not been well accustomed to the bridle; these fling about, and by mounting bravely shew their mettle. Here are the principal horses, strong and well limbed. Here also are the Brest Horses, (fit to be joined by couples) very fair and handsome, and sleek about the ears, carrying their Necks aloft, being well fleshed, and round about the buttocks. The buyers first look at their soft and slow pace, and after cause them to put on with more speed, and behold them in their Gallop. When these Coursers are ready to run their Race, and perhaps some others, which in their kind are both good for carriage and strong for Travel; the People give a Shout, and the Common Hacknies are commanded to go aside. They that ride are Boys: Three together, and sometimes two make matches among themselves, being expert in governing their horses, which they ride with Curb Bridles, labouring by all means that one get not the race from the Other. And the very Beasts, in like Manner, after their fashion, are eager for the Race, while their Joints tremble, and impatient of delay, endure not standing still in a Place. When the Token is given, they stretch out their limbs, and run with all activity and Speed: the Riders spurring them on, for the love of Praise or the hope of Victory; and exciting them by whips and cries. You would think everything were in motion with Heraclitus; and Zeno's Opinion to be false, saying that nothing moves from place to place.

In another part stand the country people with Cattle and Commodities of the Field, large Swine and Kine with their Udders strutting out, fair bodied Oxen and the woolly Flock. There are also Cart Horses, fit for the Dray, the Plough or the Chariot: and some Mares big with Foal: together with others that have their wanton colts following them at their Side.

Or this.

To this City Merchants bring in Wares by Ships from every nation under heaven. The Arabian sends his Gold, the Sabeen, his frankincense and Spices, the Scythian Arms, Oil of Palms from the plentiful Wood: Babylon her fat soil, and Nilus his precious Stones: The Seres send purple garments: they of Norway and Russia Trouts, furs and Sables: and the French their wines.

Or this.

London, instead of common interludes belonging to the Theatre, hath plays of a more Holy Subject: Representations of those Miracles which the Holy Confessors wrought, or of the sufferings wherein the glorious constancy of Martyrs did appear.

“Moreover that we may begin with the Schools of Youth, feeling once we were all children: Yearly at Shrovetide, the Boys of every School bring fighting cocks to their masters, and all the forenoon is spent at School to see these Cocks fight together. After dinner all the youth of the City goeth to play at Ball in the Fields: the Scholars of every study have their Balls. The Practisers also of all the Trades have everyone their Ball in their hands. The ancients sort, the Fathers, and the wealthy citizens, come on horseback to see the youngsters at their sport, with whom, in a Manner, they participate by motion: stirring their own natural heat in the view of the active youth, with whose mirth and liberty they seem to communicate.

Every Sunday in Lent, after Dinner, a Company of young men ride out into the field on Horses which are fit for War and principal Runners. Every one among them is taught to run the rounds with his horse. The Citizens’ Sons issue out through the gates by Troops, furnished with Lances and warlike Shields: The younger sort have their Pikes not headed with Iron, where they make a representation of Battle, and exercise a skirmish. There resort to this exercise many Courtiers, when the King lies near Hand, and young Striplings out of the families of Barons and great Persons, which have not yet attained to the warlike girdle, to train and skirmish. Hope of victory inflames every one. The neighing and fierce Horses bestir their joints and chew their Bridles, and cannot endure to stand still: At least they begin their Race, and then the young Men divide their troops: some labour to outstrip their leaders, and cannot reach them; others fling down their Fellows and get beyond them.

Upon the Holidays all Summer, the Youth is exercised in leaping, Shooting, Wrestling, casting of Stones, and throwing of Javelins fitted with Loops for the Purpose, which they strive to fling beyond the mark: they also use Bucklers, like fighting men. As for the Maidens, they have their exercise of dancing and tripping until Moonlight.

In Winter almost every Holiday before Dinner the foaming Boars fight for their heads, and prepare with deadly Tushes to be made Bacon: or else some lusty Bulls, or huge Bears are baited with Dogs.

Many Citizens take delight in Birds, as Sparrowhawks, Gosshawks, and suchlike, and in dogs to hunt in the woody ground. The Citizens have authority to hunt in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, all the Chilterns, and in Kent, as far as Graywater.

The Thames today has to feed London and he is kept pretty busy at that but long ago he had time to spare for sports as well and for the pageants that sometimes covered the water from bank to bank with rich and gaily decorated barges. Of the water sports Fitzstephen gives us this description.

In Easter Holidays they counterfeit a Sea Fight: a Pole is set up in the middle of the River, with a Target well fastened thereon, and a young man stands in a Boat which is rowed with Oars, and driven on with the Tide, who with his Spear hits the Target in his Passage: with which Blow, if he break the Spear and stand upright, so that he hold Footing, he hath his Desire: but, if his Spear continues unbroken by the Blow, he is tumbled into the Water, and his Boat passeth clear away: but on either side this Target two Ships stand in Ward, with many young men ready to take him up, after he is sunk, as soon as he appeareth again on the top of the water: The Spectators stand upon the Bridge, and in Solars upon the River to behold these Things, being prepared for Laughter.

In Winter the river was frozen over and fairs were held on the ice. Skating and similar amusements were in fashion during this season.

When the great Moor, which washeth Moorfields, at the North Wall of the City is frozen over, great Companies of Young Men go to sport upon the Ice: then fetching a Run, and setting their feet at a distance, and placing their bodies sideways, they slide a great Way. Others take heaps of ice, as if it were great Millstones, and make Seats: Many going before, draw him that sits thereon, holding one another by the Hand: in going so fast, some slipping with their feet all fall down together. Some are better practised to the Ice and bind to their shoes Bones as the Legs of some Beasts, and hold Stakes in their hands headed with sharp Iron, which sometimes they strike against the Ice: and these Men go on with Speed as doth a bird in the air, or darts shot from some warlike Engine: Sometimes two men set themselves at a Distance and run one against another as it were a Tilt, with these Stakes wherewith one or both parties are thrown down, not without some hurt to their Bodies: and after their fall, by reason of the violent Motion are carried a good distance one from another: and wheresoever the Ice doth touch their head it rubs off the skin and lays it bare: and if one falls upon his leg or arm it is usually broken: But young Men being greedy of honour and desirous of Victory, do thus exercise themselves in Counterfeit Battles, that they may bear the Brunt more strongly, when they come to do it in good Earnest.

Among the popular sports for which any lusty youth might qualify was wrestling. Enthusiasm for the wrestling match ran high and feeling sometimes developed into disturbances, for the crowds that witnessed these contests and backed their favourite champions were not always restrained in their behaviour. Yet for the most part the sports were conducted with perfect good nature and without more violent demonstrations than a modern football match. The wrestlers' prize was much coveted for the honour and acclaim that went with it and for the sake of possession. Here are some of the prizes that went to the winners: a ram, a bull, a courser with saddle and bridle, a gold ring, a pipe of wine.

The great game however was the Tournament. It was the sport of knights and nobles. At Smithfield, at Cheapside, at Whitehall, at Westminster and at the Tower, these exhibitions of military prowess and skill were held, sometimes for a week at a time, with all the splendour that attended the presence of the Court. Champions fought in the lists on horseback with lances or on foot with swords and battleaxes. The encounters were mimic battles and sometimes they were duels to the death. Sometimes the tournaments had an international character like the one between the French and English Knights at Smithfield in 1409 and the challenge of the Scottish and English Knights in 1393. It was dangerous sport but still it was sport and a spectacle in which London was profoundly interested. The last tournament took place in 1610.

Of hunting there was plenty for the great forests that stretched away into Middlesex were full of deer and wild boar, wild cattle, wolves and wildcats and foxes. There were also pheasants, ducks, geese and smaller birds.

Everybody danced and everybody played on some kind of instrument. Every gentleman's education included music and dancing. People of every class even those whose education did not include the alphabet learned to play and sing, for these were universal accomplishments acquired with ease. In the palace, in the castle, in the great house, they sang and played and danced. They danced in the garden that went with every house; they danced in the meadow and they danced in the street. Every tavern had its minstrel with harp in hand and dancing girl that stepped to sound of flute and viol, and story teller that murmured his tale to the strumming of his lute or accompanied the guests as they took up the burden of a drinking song.

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Brynge us in good ale, and brynge us in good ale:
For our Blessed Lady's sake brynge us in good ale:
Brynge us in no brown brede, for that is made of branne,
Nor brynge us in no whyt brede, for therein is no gaine,
But brynge us in good ale.
Brynge us in no befe, for ther is many bonys,
But brynge us in good ale, for that goeth downe at onys,
And brynge us in good ale.

In the Great House they danced stately dances to the music of an orchestra in a gallery. People who did not live in great houses danced mostly in the street with music of fiddle or of pipe and tabor. Their dancing was perhaps more sprightly than graceful, with more agility than stateliness. They danced round dances, they danced the Morris dance and at the festival in May they joined hands and danced around the Maypole. When spring was in the fields and young blood responded to the call, they all went out, man and maid, into the fields on Mayday eve, and on to the edge of the forest where the wild rose bloomed and the hawthorn wore its robes of pink and white, they gathered the branching blooms. In the morning they returned.

Oh do not tell the priest our plight for he would call it a sin,
But we have been out in the woods all night aconjuring summer in.

That is Kipling, but in that far off England before Chaucer there were songs in honour of Mayday. They were sung by the people when they went a maying—with pipers going before and dancing all the way they sang

Sumer is icumen in,
Lhude sing cuccu
Groweth sed and bloweth med,
And springth the wde nu
Sing cuccu.

Awe bleteth after lomb,
Llouth after calve cu,
Bulluc sterteth, bucke verteth,
Murie sing cuccu.

Cuccu, cuccu, wel singeth thu cuccu
Ne swik thu haver nu,
Sing cuccu, cuccu nu, sing cuccu,
Sing cuccu, sing cuccu, nu.

One of the oldest and sweetest of England's folksongs.

In each parish they set up the Maypole, decked with garlands and ribbons. Then wearing chaplets of wild flowers and singing, they danced about it in a ring, with Robin Hood and Maid Marian and Little John. At night they lit bonfires, they danced and they feasted. England was Merrie England in the Middle Ages and London, emerging from its walled seclusion led on the national aspirations and became the heart of England. John Stow writing of things whereof he knew, describes the Mayday custom.

In the month of May, namely on Mayday in the morning, every man, except impediment, would walk into the sweet meadows and green woods, there to rejoice their spirits with the beauty and savour of sweet flowers, and with the harmony of birds, praising God in their kind; and for example hereof Edward Hall hath noted, that King Henry VIII . . . on Mayday in the morning, with Queen Katherine his wife, accompanied by many lords and ladies, rode a-maying from Greenwich to the high ground of Shooter's Hill, where, as they passed by the way, they espied a company of tall yeomen, clothed all in green, with green hoods, and bows and arrows, to the number of two hundred; one being their chieftain, was called Robin Hood, who required the King and his company to stay and see his men shoot; whereunto the King granting, Robin Hood whistled, and all the two hundred archers shot off, loosing all at once; and when he whistled again they likewise shot again; their arrows whistled by craft of the head, so that the noise was strange and loud, which greatly delighted the King, Queen, and their company. Moreover, this Robin Hood desired the King and Queen, with their retinue, to enter the greenwood, where in harbours made of boughs and decked with flowers, they were set and served plentifully with venison and wine by Robin Hood and his men, to their great contentment, and had other pageants and pastimes, as ye may read in my said author.

I find also, that in the month of May, the citizens of London of all estates, lightly in every parish, or sometimes two or three parishes joining together, had their several mayings, and did fetch in maypoles, with divers warlike shows, with good archers, morris dancers, and other devices, for pastime all the day long; and toward the evening they had stage plays and bonfires in the streets.

The priests might call it a sin as suggested in Kipling's lines, but they never forbade the practise of these pagan rites. In fact the old Church nourished the older customs. That was one of the charges that the Puritans brought against the Church. They in their turn denounced the Mayday festival together with every other pleasant pastime and when they had the power they suppressed it altogether. Here is what a Puritan of Elizabeth's time wrote about the Maypole.

Against May, Whitsonday, or other time, all the young men and maides, olde men and wives, run gadding over night to the woods, groves, hils, and mountains, where they spend all the night in pleasant pastimes; and in the morning they

return, bringing with them birch and branches of trees, to deck their assemblies withall. And no mervaille, for there is a great Lord present amongst them, as superintendent and Lord over their pastimes and sportes, namely, Sathan, prince of hel. But the chiefest jewel they bring from thence is their May-pole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus. They have twentie or fortie yoke of oxen, every oxen having a sweet nose-gay of flowers placed on the tip of his hornes; and these oxen drawe home this May-pole (this stinking ydol, rather) which is covered all over with floures and hearbs, bound round about with strings from the top to the bottome, and sometime painted with variable colours, with two or three hundred men, women and children following it with great devotion. And thus being reared up with handkercheefs and flags hovering on the top, they straw the ground rounde about, binde green boughes about it, set up sommer haules, bowers, and arbors hard by it; and then fall they to dance about it, like as the heathen people did at the dedication of the idols, wherof this is a perfect pattern, or rather the thing itself. (Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*.)

Suppressed by the Puritans during the Commonwealth the Mayday rites were revived at the Restoration. Then was the great Maypole that from time immemorial had stood in the Strand where St. Mary le Strand now is, reared anew to a greater height than ever.

Let me declare to you the manner in general of that stately cedar erected in the Strand, 134 foot high, commonly called the Maypole, upon the cost of the parishioners there adjacent, and the gracious consent of his sacred Majesty (Charles II), with the illustrious prince the Duke of York. This tree was a most choice and remarkable piece; 'twas made below bridge and brought in two parts up to Scotland Yard, and from thence it was conveyed, April 14 (1661), to the Strand to be erected. It was brought with a streamer flourishing before it, drums beating all the way, and other sorts of music; it was supposed to be so long, that landsmen (as carpenters) could not possibly raise it. Prince James, the Duke of York, Lord High Admiral of England, commanded twelve seamen off aboard to come and officiate the business, whereupon they came and brought their cables, pullies, and other tacklins, with six great anchors. The Maypole then being joined together, and hoopt about with bands of iron, the crown and vane, with the King's arms richly gilded, was placed on the head of it, a large top like a balcony was about the middle of it. This being done the trumpets did sound, and in four hours space it was advanced upright, after which, being established fast in the ground, six drum did beat, and the trumpets did sound; again great shouts and acclamations the people give, that it did ring throughout all the Strand. After that came a Morrice dance, finely deckt, with purple scarfs in their half-shirts, with a tabor and pipe, the ancient wind music, and danced round about the Maypole and after that danced the rounds of their liberty (Duchy of Lancaster). It is placed as near hand as they could guess in the very same pit where the former stood, but far more glorious, bigger and higher, than ever any one that stood before it; and the seamen themselves do confess that it could not be built higher, nor is there such a one in Europe beside, which highly doth please his Majesty and the Duke of York. Little children did much rejoyce, and ancient people did clap their hands, saying "golden

days begin to appear. (The Citie's Loyalty Displayed, 1661. Quoted by Wheatley & Cunningham.)

Every season had its festival and the celebration of every festival began on its eve and continued through the day. At midsummer, houses in the narrow streets were hung with little lamps of different colours, row on row; garlands were strung along with green branches of Saint John's wort, birch and fennel. With music in the streets below, people danced with spirits that refused to be dull in any season or in any weather.

At Christmas the festivities were conducted under the management of a great functionary called the Lord of Misrule. He presided at Court, at the great houses and at the Inns of Court, each one of which had its Lord of Misrule. He ruled with all the pomp and privileges of a king. His robes were rich and costly as became his princely estate. He held Court. He was attended by lords, knights, gentlemen at arms, counsellors, pages, heralds, a chaplain, a jailer and a fool, and his power was unlimited. A good Lord of Misrule made a reputation that lasted his lifetime and often brought high favours from Court or Castle. He managed the masques, revels and frolics that formed the chief features of Christmas festivities.

Stow in his Survey of London refers to the Christmas customs as follows.

First in the feast of Christmas, there was in the King's house, wheresoever he was lodged, a lord of misrule or master of merry disports, and the like had ye in the house of every nobleman of honour or good worship, were he spiritual or temporal. Amongst the which the Mayor of London, and either of the sheriffs, had their several lords of misrule, ever contending, without quarrel or offence, who should make the rarest pastimes to delight the beholders. These lords beginning their rule on Allhallow Eve, continued the same till the morrow after the Feast of the Purification, commonly called Candlemas Day. In all which space there was fine and subtle disguisings, masks, and mummeries, with playing at cards for counters, nails, and points, in every house, more for pastime than for gain.

Against the feast of Christmas every man's house, as also the parish churches, were decked with holm, ivy, bays, and whatsoever the season of the year afforded to be green. The conduits and standards in the streets were likewise garnished; amongst the which I read, in the year 1444, that by tempest of thunder and lightning, on the first of February at night, Paule's Steeple was fired, but with great labour quenched; and towards the morning of Candlemas Day at the Leaden-hall in Cornhill, a standard of tree was being set up in the midst of the pavement, fast in the ground, nailed full of holm and ivy, for disport of Christmas to the people, was torn up and cast down by the malignant spirit (as was thought) and the stones of the pavement all about were cast in the streets, and into divers houses, so that the people were sore aghast of the great tempests.

In addition to all this and to crown it all there were the Pageants, the Royal Ridings, the Coronations, the Royal Weddings, the Lord Mayor's Shows, and the March of the City Watch. Such spectacles as these and especially the Royal Ridings of Plantagenet, Tudor and Stuart were on a scale of grandeur and richness quite above anything witnessed in modern times. The streets were lined with rich silks, tapestries, cloth of silver and cloth of gold. All the conduits and fountains flowed with red wine or with white wine. When Henry V returned from France, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen, robed in oriental scarlet and blazing with jewels, attended by four hundred citizens dressed in murrey (wine coloured silk) and wearing jewelled collars and chains, all mounted on splendid horses with trappings of gold, went to meet the King outside the City.

Ridings were common to all great European cities in the Middle Ages, but it is only in London that they have survived into modern times to show that the appreciation and enjoyment of rich colour is not extinct. Multitudes of people with otherwise little colour in their lives find in these pageants something for which human nature craves. It is true that cities on the Continent also have their holiday pleasures and their shows. It might be said of the southern cities in particular that their demonstrations of enjoyment have the appearance of more relish, more of the carnival spirit of liberty. There is, particularly in Italian cities, more laughter, more abandonment to mirth and frolic disposition, but there is not that complete dedication of themselves to the auspicious event by all the people that one sees in London. In the South with all its sunshine, its poetry, its beauty and its warmth, the holiday spirit is an abandonment not so much to a mood as to a ritual. Compared to the spirit of a London holiday there is something almost perfunctory in that merrymaking.

The government does not and never did set apart holidays for London, or consult the calendar for a day of public rejoicing, or proclaim a feast day. London makes its own holidays in its own way and chooses its own occasions for rejoicing. The citizens know these occasions when they arrive. They are never too busy or too preoccupied and season or weather makes no difference at all. A Royal Wedding for example suits London to perfection for a holiday. Every class of citizen from the greatest to the smallest, makes preparation and enters into it, because all are moved with one accord, because their hearts are ready to rejoice and because they are free to

turn their great city at will into fairyland for their pleasure. It is *their* city, the streets are *their* streets, the police exist for *their* comfort and convenience, and the authorities—know what is expected of them. The authorities are well trained in their part; their training has been going on for ages. They know how to meet the general wish and blend their functions with the popular demonstration. They rise serenely to the occasion; they perform their part in perfect harmony with the millions whom they serve and they never fail to provide a spectacle to the Londoner's taste, a very exacting taste. Failure on their part to act up to traditional standards would be attended by consequences too awful to contemplate. But they never fail. And the result is such an amazing holiday, such a spring-tide of colour and of movement, such a flowing of the sap of life, such a flowering of kindness and content, such a portent of the human will to happiness as only London understands.

IX

THE LORD MAYOR AND THE LIVERY

Wherever there is in the world a city speaking the English language, with wards, with municipal government consisting of Mayor, Aldermen or Common Council representing the wards, there you have, on one scale or another, a model of London. These institutions, this system of municipal government was introduced in London in the twelfth century, was copied by all other cities and towns in Britain and in turn by every city and town founded by emigrants from Britain. It was brought about in London, not without some foment, not without some conflict with established authority, not without divided opinion. It was not done without invading the rights of the barons, the Church and the King, but it was done peacefully and quietly and the new order was created without violence out of orders already existing and formed from elements long planted in London. It was brought about by the general desire and in the following way.

At the very end of the Saxon Period and the early part of the Norman Period, London was divided into Manors or private estates, each of which was owned by a family whose hereditary title to the land carried with it the prerogatives of rulership. The head of the family was Lord of the Manor. His estate was his kingdom and his revenues were derived from the productive industry of the people living under his protection. He administered the Manor as a private property but with regard to the interests of its inhabitants whose rights were protected by immemorial customs that recognized the authority of the Lord of the Manor but qualified his ownership of the land. If the land were waste, he could do with it as he pleased but if it were in use, his power over it was limited by custom. The Lords of the Manors in London were styled Aldermen and they were known as the City Barons but they were not nobles. Each Manor was a separate and independent estate. The corporate municipality did not yet exist and the hereditary proprietors constituted themselves the ruling council of London with the King as the only overlord. Within the Manor was held the Wardmote or assembly of all the inhabitants of the Manor. The voice of all the

people found united and common expression in the Folkmote, a meeting of all classes of people within the City. The meetings of the Folkmote took place whenever the great bell in Saint Paul's bell tower was rung to call the citizens together. They assembled at the open space beside Saint Paul's Cathedral, a space that was common ground and not included in any of the Manors. At the Folkmote anyone could speak and there matters of general concern were debated and decided. There was a Sheriff for the whole City whose duties had to do with defence and who led the citizens when they had to make common war. The Sheriff was elected by the citizens themselves at the Folkmote. There was a civil authority called the Protreeve who was appointed by the King. There was also a Bishop who exercised ecclesiastical authority over the City and who was an Alderman on account of the Church property in London. The Bishop and the Protreeve were joint rulers of the City, one wielding civil authority and the other representing the authority of the Church. This general statement is based partly on conjecture, for exact knowledge of the government during Saxon times and at the beginning of the Norman régime is very meagre and incomplete. In addition to the forms of government I have mentioned there would seem to have been other sundry powers exercised by a few within the City who bore a leading part in the government. Gradually changes came about; one by one the Lords of the Manors disposed of their titles to the land which became divided up among many owners; their families became merged in the general population and private ownership of the Manors disappeared, without however obliterating the boundaries of these estates, which have remained fixed to this day. When the hereditary Alderman or Lord of the Manor disappeared the people living on the estate began to elect their Alderman for life. This situation was not altered at the Norman conquest for it was one of the conditions that the Londoners made with William, that nothing should be changed. In the twelfth century, during the reign of Richard I, events so shaped themselves that elements of municipal government, already long enduring, were adjusted to the changed conditions brought about by the growth of the City. Old institutions put forth new ideas and took on new forms. London became a corporate body through the action of the citizens, supported by the Barons, the Bishops and all the magnates of the realm, for about this time London began to associate itself closely with the country and became the head and centre of English life.

In the change that came about in 1191 London became a municipality though the fact was not set forth as yet in any charter. The great event took place while Richard was absent on the Crusade and when his unpopular Regent Longchamp was deposed by the citizens. It was decreed that the new order should hold during the pleasure of the King. When Richard returned, all went well enough, but Richard never recognized the Mayor, neither did he interfere with his office. John, however, on his accession recognized the Mayor and gave the City a Charter embodying the new order. In fact the citizens had made sure of John beforehand, for while his brother Richard was in Palestine and he wished to make good his claim to the Crown in case of the King's death, the Londoners at a meeting of the Folkmote received John, the Barons and the Bishops and obtained from each in turn a solemn oath to support the new order in the City. Then they administered the oath of fealty to King Richard.

The important part of the agreement was the right which the citizens successfully claimed of electing their own chief magistrate whom they called the Mayor. The Manors, retaining their old boundaries, now became the Wards, and the Aldermen, elected for life, succeeded to the old hereditary Aldermen, the Lords of the Manors.

The Mayor took over from the Merchants Guild the regulation of trade with full power and authority to enforce his ordinances. He also kept the peace and maintained order within the City and he presided over a central court that replaced the several judicial bodies having separate jurisdiction. He was supported by two sheriffs, bailiffs, officers and servants, and he was responsible for the general welfare of the City.

The Common Council started as a body of twenty four citizens chosen by the Mayor to aid and advise him. In the thirteenth century this body gave way to the Common Council elected by the Wards, for the Wardmote still retained its full force and met under the Chairmanship of the Alderman as the chief magistrate of the Ward.

After the establishment of this system of municipal government with the Mayor as chief magistrate presiding over a Court of Aldermen, the old Folkmote or parliament of citizens that from time immemorial had met in the open air at Saint Paul's, continued to meet but its power dwindled until with the election of a Common Council

by the wards it disappeared altogether, or survived only in the form of an outlet for agitated minds, a forum where any citizen availing himself of the right of free speech might air his views in public. Doubtless the tradition of the Folkmote clung to Paul's Cross and may be recognized in the controversies that were fought out there. It was a battleground of the Reformation and the legend of Paul's Cross is one of the most significant in London. Transferred to the windy corner of Hyde Park that legend remains today one of the most remarkable survivals in the world and one of the most wonder-



Staple Inn, Holborn. Built in the 14th Century, a house of the Wool Staplers. Later an Inn of Chancery and still later rented chambers. Dr. Johnson lived here for a time. It now belongs to the Prudential Assurance Co. and is tenanted chiefly by solicitors. From a photograph taken after the plaster was removed to expose the timbered front. Photo by the Society for Photographing Old Buildings.

ful sights to be seen anywhere. I have already suggested that the modern usage, localized where space affords, is a direct inheritance but whether or not we choose to regard it as a survival of an old institution associated in early times with Paul's Cross, the fact remains that the Hyde Park practise illustrates a latitude in the use of speech in public places that is not peculiar to our generation.

The Folkmote never was officially dissolved. It might be argued that its legitimate successor was the meeting in Common Hall, the Guildhall, because at first the election of the Mayor was made by the

whole body of citizens assembled in Common Hall. In a sense that is true, for the Common Hall assumed the authority of the Folkmote which was succeeded or rather superseded by the Common Hall, but nevertheless the old open air Folkmote continued to meet as before though apparently without authority. There is no record of a termination of these meetings.

The first Mayor, elected in 1191, was Henry Fitzalwyn of London Stone, so called because his house stood beside that ancient landmark. It was a century later that the title of Lord Mayor was assumed without affecting the nature of the office.



Furnival's Inn, Holborn. Originally, in the 15th Century, the Mansion House of the Lords Furnival. Later an Inn of Chancery and finally chambers. It was at Furnival's Inn that Dickens lived when he wrote the *Pickwick Papers*. It stood on the north side of Holborn opposite Staple Inn and on the site now occupied by the building of the Prudential Assurance Co.

Meantime, long before the creation of the office of Mayor and the municipal system that still prevails, we hear much of the City Guilds. These guilds were at first associations of craftsmen or of merchants united for charitable, social and religious purposes. Each craft had its guild, with entrance fees, governing rules, provisions for the sick and the unfortunate, and masses for the souls of the dead. To these functions the guilds began to add the regulation of wages and hours of work, the training of apprentices each of whom must belong to the guild and serve seven years under the master to whom he was bound. The guilds also assumed the right to set the standard of workmanship, always with a view to the improvement of the craft.

Bad work was condemned and destroyed and penalties were imposed on inferior craftsmanship. The masters and the journeymen were members on equal terms but the time came when the masters or employers began to control the guilds for their own benefit—fixing hours and wages and regulating the conditions of labour without consulting the workmen in the guild. This led to varying degrees of disorganization.

At the same time that the Craft Guilds took their rise, there arose the Merchant Guild, rich and powerful, regulating the trade of the City. At the creation of his office it became one of the duties of the Mayor to adjust disputes between the guilds. Such disputes were common, for the guilds watched each other jealously lest one should overreach the other. From the first the Merchant Guild was unpopular with the Crafts. Among its members were the hereditary Aldermen who, being themselves engaged in commerce, made common cause with the merchants of the City and united with them to form a governing class. The Merchant Guild therefore was suspected of putting most of the burden on the Crafts. This led to a long struggle for it was a long time before they learned to trust each other and unite for the common good.

There came a culmination of the feud between the employers and the men, within the Craft Guilds themselves. The men formed combinations of their own—unions. There were strikes. The workmen were resolved to get the management into their own hands. The Mayor and Aldermen pronounced the new combinations illegal and ordered the men back to their guilds or companies, the only associations of labour that were licensed in London. The revolt of the men against their employers, determined though it was, failed utterly. That was six hundred years ago, and the same subjects are being discussed today. The struggle caused a general disorganization and demoralization of the guilds for a time till they were reformed as Companies under ordinances approved by the Mayor. These Companies continued from that time forward to exercise power and successfully to control the craftsmen. They consolidated their corporate power and confirmed their authority over their respective crafts and their share in the administration of the City. That share they have always maintained and today the City Companies are a component part of the Corporation.

It is natural that in such a long continued existence, some of the prerogatives and powers of the Companies should have become

obsolete. On the other hand wherever these ancient rights are adaptable to modern business, the ancient franchises have full force. As an example we may take the Vintners Company. It is so old that its origin is lost in antiquity. Probably it existed as far back as the making and selling of wine. The monopolies and powers of the Vintners Company may be illustrated by the fact that its members alone could import, buy or sell wine in the City of London. The Company had power to regulate that importation and sale, and through its members controlled the entire trade in wines and spirits. The members required no license except the license of the Company. The Company in its corporate capacity had power to enter the premises of any member, inspect his stock, condemn such part as was below standard and inflict penalties and punishments for infringement of rules and for failure to observe the amenities of the trade. Here is a case from the records of the Company.

John Rightways and John Penrose, taverners, were charged with trespass in the tavern of William Doget, in Estchepe, on the eve of Saint Martin, and there selling unsound and unwholesome wines, to the deceit of the common people, the contempt of the King, to the shameful disgrace of the officers of the City, and to the grievous damage of the commonalty. John Rightways was discharged, and John Penrose found guilty; he was to be imprisoned a year and a day, to drink a draught of the bad wine, and the rest to be poured over his head, and to forswear the calling of a vintner in the City of London for ever.

From time immemorial the Vintners Company has enjoyed the exclusive right of loading, landing, rolling, pitching and turning all wines and spirits imported to or exported from the City of London. Its tackle porters handle all the wines and spirits that arrive in London and all persons employing these tackle porters are indemnified by the Company for any loss or breakage that may be caused in the handling.

The Company through its members claims today the privilege of selling foreign wines without license throughout England. The Company exercises control over its members, it hears complaints, issues summonses, calls witnesses, takes evidence, adjudicates at its discretion. A pillory was formerly kept in the Hall for offenders. The extreme penalty is expulsion from the Company. Liverymen and their widows are entitled to pensions and donations in case of need. The Hall of the Company stands in Upper Thames Street.

The wealth and standing of some of the wine merchants may be illustrated by the example of Henry Picard, a Vintner, who in 1363

at the return of the Black Prince from France, feasted at his own house a company that included five kings and many nobles, besides the Black Prince. The kings were Edward III of England, John II of France, prisoner of the Black Prince, David king of Scotland, the king of Denmark and the king of Cyprus. After the banquet Picard entertained the kings by playing dice with them or with as many as would try their luck with him. His wife, the Lady Margaret, at the same time entertained the queens, princesses and great ladies in the same manner in her own apartment. Picard returned his winnings and distributed rich gifts to all his guests and their retinues. The



The Old Almshouses of the Ironmongers Company, built in the 17th Century by Sir Robert Geffreys. The London County Council have bought the property from the Ironmongers Company and the buildings are now a museum of furniture and the Decorative Arts.

Vintners Company still drinks the toast Five times Five in memory of Picard's feast of five kings.

The Hall of the Corporation of the City of London is known as the Guildhall, where the election of the Lord Mayor takes place annually, where the State banquets of the Corporation are given and where the Lord Mayor presides at many picturesque ceremonies. The original Guildhall of unknown antiquity was replaced in the fifteenth century by the present building. In the Great Fire it lost its roof which was then restored by Christopher Wren. In the gallery of the great hall are the two uncouth wooden figures of Gog and Magog which were made to replace two similar figures that were

burnt in the Great Fire and that used to be carried in the Lord Mayor's Procession. Who and what they actually represent cannot be stated in any satisfactory terms.

The origin and antiquity of the name Guildhall are unknown, but the name itself would suggest that it was originally the Common Hall of the ancient City Guilds. The position of the Guilds is so



A view of Goldsmith's Hall and the Church of Saint Vedast. From *The City Companies of London*, by P. H. Ditchfield, by Permission of J. M. Dent and Co., Publishers.

important that I must restate that position at the risk of being tedious. The Romans had their trade associations or fraternities for the mutual help of their members and for social purposes. In London these Roman trade associations became merged in the Saxon Guilds and we have seen how these Guilds were transformed into the Companies after the struggle between the masters and the men. They are officially known as the Livery Companies of the

City of London because the members wear distinguishing liveries with their appropriate insignia. There are seventy three of these Livery Companies with their regular order of precedence, exercising both separately and collectively a powerful influence and enjoying monopolies set forth in ancient charters granted by early Kings.

Some of the trades represented by the Guilds are extinct, such as that of the Bowyers, and that of the Fletchers, the makers of bows and the makers of arrows, but that does not mean that these Guilds are extinguished for they retain their corporate existence, their ancient civic rights and their social functions. All of the great Companies and most of the others own their halls that are among the most interesting features of the CITY. Some are very rich, the properties that they have owned in the CITY from time immemorial having acquired an enormous value. Their incomes are devoted to technical education, scientific foundations, hospitals and other charities and good works.

Among the principal Livery Companies are the Goldsmiths, Ironmongers, Clothworkers, Fishmongers and Vintners. These and others to the number of twelve are the Great Companies and take precedence of all the others. Membership is by inheritance and by special election. It is not necessary to be engaged in trade to be a Liveryman. The Prince of Wales for example is a Fishmonger—a Liveryman of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers, having been received in that honoured position with appropriate ceremony. But you or I could not break into the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers no matter how many fish stories we might tell. But if we sold fish successfully for about five hundred years we would inherit our membership even though we might have retired from the business several generations ago.

The Lord Mayor is elected annually on Michellmas Day. On the sixth of November he is sworn in at the Guildhall and on the ninth of November he proceeds in State to the Royal Courts of Justice to be sworn in before the Judges. His progress on that occasion is attended by the gorgeous procession known as the Lord Mayor's Show that in earlier times took place afloat on the Thames.

The qualification of the electors who elect the Lord Mayor, the two sheriffs, the chamberlain and the minor CITY officials is that they must be liverymen in one or another of the City Companies and freemen of London. The method of election is as follows. The liverymen elect the two sheriffs each year from the members of the

Court of Aldermen, the elected sheriffs retaining of course their membership in that court as representatives of their respective wards. To fill the office of Lord Mayor the liverymen select annually two Aldermen who have passed the Chair, that is who have held the office of sheriff. The Court of Aldermen is then under obligation to choose one of these two to fill the office of Lord Mayor for the ensuing year.

The election of the sheriffs takes place on Midsummer day of each year and a more interesting and colourful ceremony is perhaps not to be found even in London. The ground in front of the Guildhall is for the time being enclosed by a barrier in which are twenty two gates. Above each of the twenty two gates are written the names of certain guilds, the seventy three guilds being divided into groups corresponding to twenty two letters.

Over one gate would be seen

Armourers

Apothecaries

Over another gate would appear the legend

Bakers

Barbers

Basketmakers

Blacksmiths

Bowyers

Broderers

Butchers

The third gate would display the following

Carpenters

Clothworkers

Cooks

Coopers

Cordwainers

Curriers

Cutlers

Another gate would be distinguished by this array of names

Farriers

Fanmakers

Feltmakers

Fishmongers

Fletchers

And so on through the alphabet.

To be admitted to the ceremony of electing the sheriffs, you must be a member of one of the 73 Guilds and also a freeman of the City.

Behind the twenty two gates stand seventy three formidable officials in a row, in seventy three different liveries, with a lot of gold lace and with maces in their hands—"terrible as an army with banners". They are the beadles of the 73 Companies, they are there to recognize the members as they arrive and they constitute the first line of defense.

We will now suppose that you are a Lorriner and you are going to the election in company with your friend the Skinner. You may not know exactly what a lorriner is and your friend the Skinner may earn his living as President of the Anglo-Silurian Oil and Aerial Navigation Company, Limited; but these details are of no consequence—you are going to the Guildhall to elect the Sheriffs. When you arrive in front of the twenty two gates, you proceed to the gate that has Lorriners written over it and your friend separates from you and approaches the gate marked Skinners. If the beadle of your Company, mace in hand, recognizes you, you are admitted. That recognition is your passport without which you do not vote at that election. If he should fail to recognize you and you should proceed to make an assault upon the gate, the entire first line of defense would be ready to concentrate its resistance at that point to repel your attack. Having been recognized however, you proceed to the door of the Guildhall, pass through the porch and enter the Great Hall. Its floor is strewn with sweet herbs that lie with a special profusion on the dais on which the high officials are to sit in State. Presently there is a movement across that dais where, in a flourish of red and gold, scarlet and purple, and a flash of jewels, with sword and mace borne upright before them, the Lord Mayor, the retiring Sheriffs, the Aldermen who have passed the chair, and the whole list of Aldermen enter in procession and take their seats. They are robed and capped and trimmed with fur. Then enter the Town Clerk and the Recorder in wig and gown, carrying bouquets. When all are seated, the Common Crier raises his voice.

"Oyez! Oyez! All ye who are not Liverymen, depart from this hall on pain of imprisonment. All ye who are Liverymen and freemen of the City of London, draw near and give your attendance. God save the King."

I cannot describe the method of election or the scenes that attend the voting. I have no title to be present and the accounts I

have been able to extort from two or three voters whom I happen to know were disconnected and unsatisfactory. It was obviously rather stupid to be curious about anything so commonplace as an election. For a good description I can refer you to a very helpful and entertaining book, *More About Unknown London* by Walter George Bell, a Londoner. To that description I am indebted for much of my information about the election of the sheriffs.

Besides the Sheriffs, there are elected on the same day certain other officials, among them two Bridgemasters and seven Ale Conners. The former apparently have no longer anything to do,



Stairway in Fishmongers Hall.

but the Ale Conners are understood to taste and judge the quality of all the ale drunk in London and to keep an eye on the brewsters. You may not know that brewster is the feminine of brewer or that in former times ale was made by brewsters. Brewing was a feminine occupation.

The Aldermen are elected for life by the Wardmotes. The Wardmote consists of all the inhabitants of the ward. Its meetings are called by the Alderman as the chief magistrate and presiding officer of the ward. Its function is to promote the welfare of the ward. It is the same identical body, meeting in the same identical place for the same identical purpose as that which met under the leadership of the Lord of the Manor before the Norman conquest.

The Common Council is elected annually by the Wardmotes, the number from each ward being proportionate to the population. The Court of Aldermen and the Court of the Common Council are the advisers and assistants of the Lord Mayor who presides at their meetings in the Guildhall. The position of the Lord Mayor in the City of London is altogether extraordinary and without parallel. The remarkable privileges that pertain to his office and that have been most religiously guarded for so long are all of great antiquity, and in part at least derive their origin and significance from times long before the creation of the office with which they are identified. These peculiar privileges of the Lord Mayor are as follows. His position in the CITY, where he is second only to the Sovereign. His right to close Temple Bar to the Sovereign. His right to be summoned to the Privy Council on the accession of a new Sovereign. His holding the keys of the Tower from the hand of the Sovereign and his receipt four times a year from the Sovereign of the password of the Tower. His position of Chief Butler at the Coronation Banquets.

London always claimed a separate decision in the election of a King. Its citizens did not deny to the rest of England the same right to make independent choice and they never interfered with that right, but it was always understood that the choice of all England outside London was not of necessity London's choice. In other words London always claimed the right of separate election. Therefore London might have one king and the rest of England another. This happened when London elected Edmund Ironside in the century preceding the conquest and when they elected Stephen in the century after that event. But these were not the only occasions when London exercised its right to elect a King.

Does this claim to separate election account for the right of the Lord Mayor to be summoned to the meeting of the Privy Council on the accession of a new sovereign? I do not know.

X

ANCIENT CUSTOMS

Of the many scores of ancient customs that keep alive the memory of other days, marshalling the Middle Ages in the service of this mechanical century, I will recall only three to serve the purpose of illustration.

ROYAL MAUNDY

On Maundy Thursday, the Thursday before Easter, at a ceremony in Westminster Abbey, gifts are distributed on behalf of the King to as many poor men as the King has years and to an equal number of women. The service in which the ceremony takes place begins with the reading of John XIII, 34: *Mandatum novum . . .* from which the name of Maundy Thursday is derived. It is a very old ceremony. In mediæval times the Sovereign took part and personally performed ceremonial functions that included the washing of the feet of the beggars and the distribution of clothing and food together with coins called Maundy Money—coined for the purpose and brought fresh from the mint. Today the Lord High Almoner takes the place of Sovereign; there is no washing of feet and the clothing and provisions are commuted into cash. I have read that Queen Elizabeth, on one occasion only, washed the feet of a certain number of beggars; the number was not given, but it was stated explicitly that the beggars were carefully washed beforehand by the Yeomen of the Laundry. James II was the last monarch to take part personally in the Maundy proceedings.

The ceremony as performed in 1922 was as follows. Seated in the Abbey were poor men and women to the number of 57 each, a number that represented the King's age. A procession was formed consisting of the Dean and Clergy, the Lord High Almoner and his assistants attended by Yeoman of the Guard. Among them they carried baskets of red and white purses. The lay officials from the Royal Almonry Office carried white scarves and bouquets, representing the towels and sweet herbs formerly used in the washing. These are now symbolic. There was a first distribution and a second

distribution. In the first distribution each man received £2.5s and each woman £1.15s in lieu of the clothing formerly given. At the second distribution, each person received a red purse containing £1.10s in lieu of provisions formerly given and £1 to redeem the King's gown. At the same time each person received a white purse containing in silver coins 57 pence. The coins were silver pennies, silver twopences, silver threepences and silver fourpences. They were coined as Maundy Money and came straight from the mint and the only one of these coins at present in use is the threepenny bit. Moreover in the Middle Ages coins did not have the edges milled; neither did this Maundy Money of today. The little red and white purses on their way to the recipients passed through the hands of the Secretary, the Sub-Almoner and the Lord High Almoner.

THE FORGE AND THE MORE

When the Danes were settled outside London, in the Parish of Saint Clement Danes during the ninth and tenth centuries, they formed an independent community and the occupiers of land paid rent in kind to the tribal chief. When the district lost its independence, the prerogatives of the Chief passed to the King. Now it happened that a certain piece of land in that parish was acquired by the Corporation of the City of London. The former Danish owner, a blacksmith by trade, used to pay an annual rent of six horseshoes and sixty one horseshoe nails. This rent continued to be paid by the CITY after it acquired the property and to this very day the Corporation of the City of London makes annual payment to the King of England of six horseshoes and sixty one horseshoe nails as its ground rent for that plot of land in Saint Clement Danes.

A certain piece of waste land in Shropshire called The More was formerly held by tenants of the Crown at a yearly rental defined in the lease as follows. "Two culters or knives, one of such strength as to be able to cut a stick of a cubit's length, and the other not strong enough to cut the same; the good culter to cut the stick at the first cut through the middle; which service is to be performed in the middle of the Exchequer, before the Treasurer and Barons, every year, on the morrow of St. Michael."

This parcel of land likewise became the property of the CITY which continued to pay annually a rent as defined in the terms of the original lease, namely two culters and two faggots.

In the oldest known form of the lease, written in Latin, it is required that one of the knives shall be good, the other very bad—*duos cultellos, unum bonum et alterum pessimum*.

On the day following Michaelmas the payments are made in the court of the Exchequer, formerly held in a chamber of Old Westminster Hall, but now at the Royal Courts of Justice. The warrants are read and the Common Cryer calls: "The tenants and occupiers of a certain tenement called The Forge in the parish of St. Clement Danes, come forth and do your service, on pain and peril that may fall thereon." Thereupon the City Solicitor lays upon the table six horseshoes, counting them one by one. He then counts out the nails in groups of ten until he has counted sixty. He then lays down the odd nail and says: "and one over." The King's Remembrancer replies: "A good number," and receives the rent. The Cryer then announces: "The Tenants and occupiers of a certain piece of waste ground in the county of Salop called The More, come forth and do your service, &c. The City Solicitor then produces two small faggots each made up of a number of twigs bound together. Laying one of these faggots on a block on the table he produces a large knife or chopper and with it chops the faggot in two. He then puts the other faggot on the block and producing another and inferior knife or cleaver he strikes the faggot, which is not cut by the stroke. The King's Remembrancer says: "Good service" and receives the knives and the faggots.

I have heard it suggested once and only once that had the Great War ended in defeat all of this ancient panoply of custom and precedent and ceremony would have been swept away in the throes of revolution. I think there was a crooked bolshevistic wish behind that sinister suggestion. It is not worth while to consider the idea, but if anyone wants to know my opinion, it is that even in that event as in the actual event, London would have kept faith with the past and continued to pay its debts.

BEATING THE BOUNDS

I have already told how among the Livery Companies are some that own large properties in the CITY, inherited from time immemorial. In order to preserve their title to these properties and stimulate their memories, they turn out once every year in solemn procession and beat the bounds. The example that came under my obser-

vation in 1921 was the Vintners Company. Four servants of the Liverymen wearing white linen jackets and silk hats and carrying brooms, accompanied by some of the Liverymen in full livery, made the circuit of the Company's properties while the four servants beat the pavements with their brooms.

Others in London besides the Livery Companies keep up this very old custom. The Warders of the Tower also beat the bounds, making the circuit of the Tower precincts once a year while the beefeaters strike the boundaries with their pikes. That mysterious and misty shadow called The Court Leet with View of Frankpledge of the Manor and Liberty of the Savoy continues to beat the bounds of the Manor. The Court is so old that even the moss flourishes with deference to custom and the boundaries of the Manor have been ages ago intersected by the lines of more modern buildings, but once every year the jury of the Court, led by the Beadle, ancient staff in hand, makes the rounds and although one of the landmarks is in the middle of a church, another on the stage of a theatre and another within the Temple, the procession suffers no interruption. Thus they serve notice to the world and cherish in their own memories from generation to generation, a vivid definition of their own preserves.

I have a particular fancy for that old custom of Beating the Bounds. To my mind it is a symbol of the CITY's history. It explains that lapse of two centuries in the Saxon Chronicles. It explains why no relics of the Danes are found within the CITY. It explains why William the Conqueror, after taking a look at the walls went quietly away to think it over. Saxon, Dane, Norman and Zeppelin found London beating the bounds. No one knows how long this world will last,—but of one thing we may be sure, the Londoners will go on playing the game till the last syllable of recorded time and the Day of Doom will find them in full livery beating the bounds.

XI

WESTMINSTER

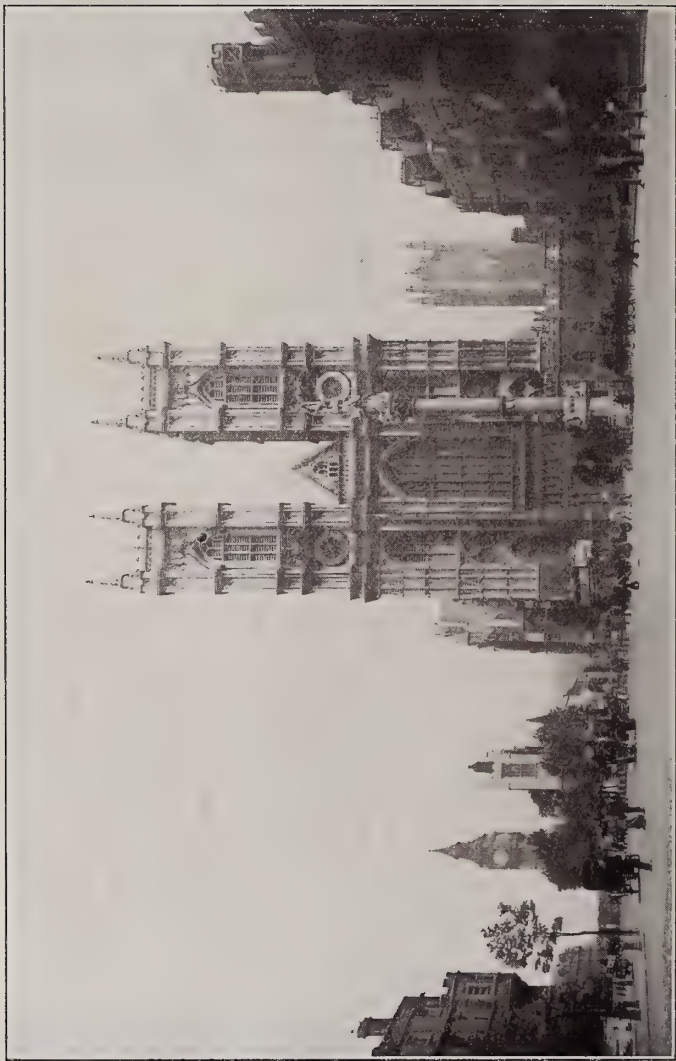
Westminster is a Metropolitan borough. It is also a city and its formal name is the City of Westminster. In this larger official sense it is bounded by the CITY on the East, by Chelsea on the West by Oxford Street on the North, and the Thames on the South. It therefore includes the Law Courts, Whitehall, the Houses of Parliament, the Abbey, the Royal Residences, most of the great houses of the wealthy, and Hyde Park. The name Westminster however is commonly reserved to that restricted area that includes the Houses of Parliament, the Abbey, Little Saint Margaret's and the immediate precincts of these commanding edifices. This is the centre of interest that makes the name stand for so much of supreme importance in history.

THE ABBEY

Standing opposite the west end of the Abbey and looking East we have in front of us one of the noblest scenes associated with the history of man. That patch of earth on which these buildings stand was once called Thorney Isle or the Isle of Brambles, a low, flat sand-bank, rising a few feet above the Thames and covered with wild shrubs. It was surrounded by marshes, through which the Tyburn, dividing into two, wound on the North and on the South, encircling the island before entering the Thames. In Roman times a temple of Apollo and a villa stood on that island and later, about the third century, a little Roman British church stood beside the temple.

We will pay our first imaginary visit to Thorney in the sixth century. It is now desolate and forsaken. The Saxon conquest avoiding the walled CITY has overrun the country round about. Amid the tangled growth of brambles rise the ruins of Roman villa and Pagan temple and Christian church, ivy crowned and crumbling. There is a smell of rank vegetation and decay, scattered refuse, broken vessels, a skull half hidden by the mould, and the Thames rising and falling with the tides, but no sign of life.

A hundred years pass. Another change has come over Thorney. A Saxon manor takes the place of the ruins of the Roman villa; a



View looking east from Broad Sanctuary. Westminster Abbey, Saint Margarets, Victoria Tower and the Clock Tower.

Saxon church stands where the Roman church and temple stood. Another hundred years bring us to the early eighth century and a slightly clearer view of Thorney. Its life is now enlarged. The Church has grown to an Abbey and a new monastic foundation of the Benedictines dedicated to Saint Peter, is nearing completion. It is called the West Minster or Monastery because it lies to the west of the CITY. Still stands the Manor House toward the river and all



Portal of the North Transept, Westminster Abbey.

along the banks rise the huts of fishermen, for the Thames is full of fish. A day comes when the new Abbey Church of Saint Peter is complete. The next day is set apart for the hallowing. All has been made ready and the good monks go home to bed. The whole city sleeps. Edric, a fisherman, living at Thorney, is awakened by a loud voice calling from the opposite side of the river. A midnight traveller wants to be rowed across the Thames. Passing over in his boat Edric

finds a venerable looking man carrying in his hands some vessels pertaining to the sacred offices of a church. In silence he rows the visitor across the river. The stranger at once enters the newly finished church which immediately becomes lit up with an uncommon brilliance, and Edric, watching without, hears voices chanting psalms. Then the chanting stops, the lights go out and the stranger reappears.



The Choir of Westminster Abbey, looking west.

"Edric," says he, "I am Peter, come down from Heaven to hallow my holy Church. My task is done. The lights you saw were the candles of Heaven and the voices you heard were the voices of angels. Tomorrow tell the Bishop what you have seen and tell him that I have left a sign and a token of my hallowing. To you also will I give a sign and a token to strengthen your belief, Oh Edric. Go you out on the river and cast your net and be prepared for such a catch of fish as will remove your doubting, and see that you give a

tenth to my holy church and that you and your brethren do likewise forever as a memorial of my visit."

Then Peter disappeared. Just why he had landed on the wrong side of the river on his arrival is not a question to be asked or answered by this generation.

Edric the fisherman did as he had been told and presently his net was as full of miraculous fish as Peter's had been once on the Sea of Galilee.

In the morning the King and his retinue, with the Bishop and clergy come up the river to hallow the Church. As they land Edric meets them with his tale of the midnight visitor and his wonderful fish story. Marveling, they enter into the Church where they find the incense fresh from Heaven lingering on the air. In the dust upon the altar a finger has written words in Greek and there on the floor are the drippings of the candles made in Heaven. What is there to do but believe? To doubt would be all but sacrilege. Better to proclaim the miracle far and wide, with a service of thanksgiving and a day of rejoicing. That done they all return to London to celebrate with a banquet and then Edric's part is fulfilled, for his finest and most miraculous salmon is served on the banquet board.

But that was by no means the end of it; on the contrary it was but the beginning of tradition and the foundation of custom. The legend became an article of faith. The peculiar sanctity of a place so divinely favoured led to the right of sanctuary to which Westminster had a special claim. Most important of all, Edric's injunction from the Keeper of the Keys of Heaven to give a tenth of his catch of fish to the Church, became at once a vested right and for centuries Westminster Abbey continued to receive and to claim as a right a tithe of all fish caught in the Thames. I am by no means sure that the same right is not exercised still, but today the receipts would not be important. In former times they would represent a large revenue for the Thames swarmed with fine salmon and other fish. In addition, a successor and representative of Edric held office at least as late as the end of the fourteenth century. He was a Thames fisherman and he had the right to sit at the table with the Prior of Westminster once a year, and to demand of the cellarer as much ale and bread as he wished. It is quite evident that these privileges of Edric's successive representatives were first enjoyed by Edric himself and handed down among the customs then established. I do not know whether a Thames fisherman still sits at Somebody's table at West-

minster Abbey, demanding ale and bread from the cellarer. If not it only shows how faint our beliefs have become, and how pitiful our faith compared to the faith of our fathers.

From the consecration of that Abbey by Saint Peter in the eighth century another hundred years go by and again Thorney presents a scene of desolation. The Danes have raided the little island and



The Coronation Chair in the Chapel of Edward the Confessor, Westminster Abbey.

again it is claimed by the brambles that cluster about Saint Peter's shrine and its deserted monastery. Still another century and the Benedictine foundation is restored by King Edgar. In the century following comes Canute the Dane, crowned King in 1016. His countrymen have settled to the West of London over toward Thorney which the King chooses for his residence. On the site of the Saxon

Manor he builds himself a palace. The Abbey, now two hundred years old, renews its life under the shadow of the Royal Dwelling.

In less than a decade after the death of Canute, Edward the Confessor, last but one of the Saxon line of kings, succeeded to the throne and soon began to lay the foundations of the great Abbey that replaced the older building. It was finished in fifteen years and in place of the little Saxon Abbey with its dozen monks there now rose the stately Westminster, with its fourscore monks and mitred abbots, officially styled to this day the Collegiate Church of Saint Peter's in Westminster. The style of its architecture was Norman and it was of surpassing beauty and of imposing magnitude, for the Church with cloisters, refectory, dormitory, infirmary, chapter house and all its monastic additions, divided the whole island of Thorney with the Royal Palace where Edward the Confessor lived in the halls of his predecessors, and dying was buried in his Abbey where his saintly fame soon brought pilgrims flocking to his tomb. Within a century of his death he was canonized by the Pope and when yet another century had passed, Henry III had a splendid new shrine erected behind the High Altar to receive the coffin of the saintly King and at the same time he began to rebuild the Church in the pointed style, just then coming in, gradually replacing the Confessor's Church on its own foundations. In this way the choir and transepts of the new church came to be completed in 1269 and the Confessor's Chapel was also built about his newmade shrine.

Apparently without compunction or misgiving this new builder destroyed the splendid fabric of the Norman Church built by one whom he considered sacred, to replace it by a different fabric, only because the style of architecture had changed. Dean Stanley makes the remark that the building of Westminster Abbey by Edward the Confessor was the precursor of the Norman Conquest. That is true for it was the passage from the Saxon way of building to the Norman way, from the little Saxon fabric with wooden rafters to the great Norman fabric with vaulted roofs, stout pillars and rounded arches. The rebuilding of the Abbey by Henry III on the other hand represented the transition from the Norman to the English style.

The Confessor's shrine within the new fabric had a roof of gold, adorned with golden images of the Saints, and it blazed below with rich mosaic and coloured enamel, the precious work of Italian craftsmen. In the body of the shrine and raised high above the floor was placed the coffin where it still remains; but the costly sepulchre,

stripped of its golden roof and mosaic covering is today a sadly mutilated monument. The Royal Chapel—the Chapel of Saint Edward—remains intact, and there, gathered in their royal tombs like pilgrims round that ruined shrine, lie the Plantagenet Kings and Queens. There too, over against the high altar screen, stands the Coronation Chair enclosing in its scarred and battered wooden frame a block of stone—the ancient Stone of Scone. Hard by that Seat of Majesty is the simple tomb of Edward I as though he would guard the sacred relic that he wrung from the Scottish Kings and on which his successors have ever since been crowned.

Successive generations continued rebuilding the Abbey and Henry VII in his time added at the East end the beautiful perpendicular Chapel that bears his name and that contains his tomb, a black marble mausoleum protected by a bronze grill decorated with the arms and devices of the Tudors. On the top of the tomb, the work of Torrigiano, the marble effigies of Henry and his Queen turn their faces toward that vaulted roof where a magic chisel has transformed the solid masonry into a vibrant thing—light as the silken banners of the Order of the Bath that float above the carven seats of the knights along the walls.

In the North aisle of Henry VIIth's chapel rises the lofty tomb of Elizabeth who is accompanied by her sister Mary Tudor and in the corresponding position in the South aisle, the similar tomb of her victim Mary Queen of Scots keeps it company in this "Temple of Silence and Reconciliation."

The most beautiful tombs in the Abbey are a group of three early ones in the Sanctuary and there are many more to claim attention but I have neither the will nor the space to describe the crowded sepulchres where so many lie, all up and down the aisles, in the transepts and in the nave.

There are the graves of the statesmen and of the poets and there is the grave of Thomas Parr, who was 152 years old and lived in ten reigns, inclusive of Edward IV and Charles I. That was his claim to a place in the Abbey. He has had no rivals.

As for those offending monuments that strike many of this generation as so false and so profane in their plebeian advertisement, much has been said about them and they have received scant courtesy. Some have not hesitated to advocate their removal, but others feel that it is more becoming to refrain and leave them for the judgment of a generation farther removed that may have cause to cherish them.

Whatever else they may be, they are a part of this place, a part of all it means and all it seeks to convey to the ages. Whether it strikes one of us as false or as true no one has any right to delete so much as one syllable of that message. One of the things the Abbey teaches us is not to trust the evanescent canons of art and besides the Abbey is not a Museum of the Fine Arts or a Temple of the Muses; it is no other than the greatest human document that the ages have produced.

The oldest grave is that of Sebert and his wife Ethelgoda. The latest is that of an unknown soldier killed in the Great War. A slab in the floor of the nave marks the position of his grave and pilgrims come in millions there and nations lay their tribute on that tomb. No one knows his name, or who he was, or whence he sprang, but Nelson was not honoured so. He whose battle cry was "Victory and Westminster Abbey" was not laid there among the Kings or given the splendid sepulture of that Nameless One.

THE ABBEY CLOISTERS

The visitor who passes through the door in the South wall of the Church into the East Walk of the Cloisters will notice, as he approaches a low passage leading to his left, that he is now in a part of the Abbey that is guarded by policemen and not by vergers. The passage referred to leads to the Chapter House which with the adjoining Chapel of the Pyx is Crown property and not under the jurisdiction of the Dean. At the Dissolution of the Monasteries, Henry VIII appropriated these parts and they have never been returned. The beautiful Chapter House was built by Henry III who removed the Confessor's Chapter House, leaving only the Norman crypt that lies beneath. The crypt, formerly a treasury of the Abbey, is reached by a narrow stairs descending from a nook in the Poets' Corner of the Abbey Church. Its walls are seventeen feet thick and within that Norman Crypt of the Chapter House during the War of 1914-1918 were placed for safety the Coronation Chair, the sword of Edward III and some other treasures of the Abbey.

A Chapter House is in itself a peculiarly English Institution, a chamber architecturally designed to be the meeting place of a deliberative Assembly. The Abbey Chapter House fulfilled its destiny as a permanent part of English History but it was first the place where the whole monastery met under the presiding rule of the Abbot for the government of the Abbey.

It is a stately structure, round in plan, with lofty roof supported on groined vaults and with a graceful central pillar. Opposite the entrance is the stone stall on which the Abbot presided over the weekly meetings of the brethren, who, as they filed in two and two, wore the flagstones into ruts. Around the circumference of the chamber run the stone seats where they took their places, and where in the order of procedure they made themselves heard in the assembly.

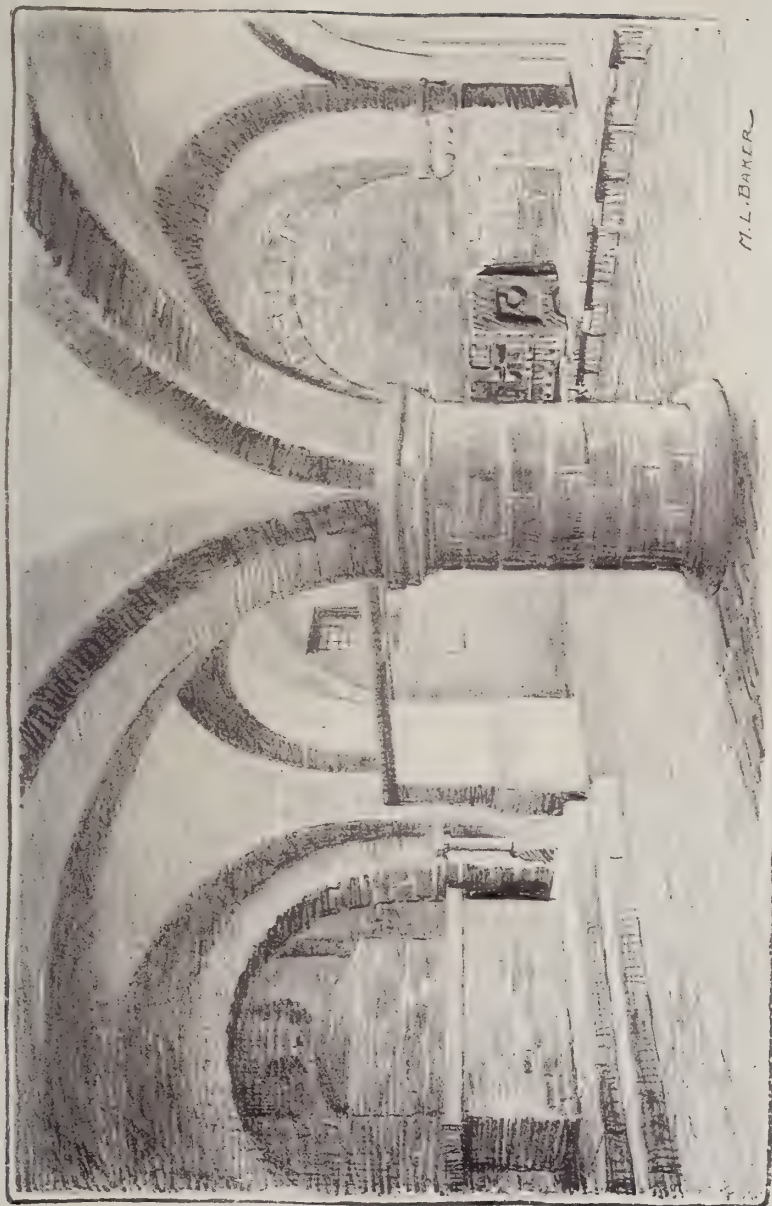
The special claim that History has on this Chapter House is that it was the first meeting place of the House of Commons after it separated from the Lords in 1282 and continued to be the regular meeting place of the Commons till 1547 when that body moved



Entrance to the Chapter House from the East Cloister, Westminster Abbey.

to Saint Stephen's Chapel in Old Westminster Palace. Then the Chapter House was used for keeping State documents and among other ancient records Domesday Book and its oaken chest might be seen there down to 1865 when all were moved to the Record Office in Chancery Lane.

A few steps beyond the passage leading to the Chapter House is a Norman Archway closed by a massive door with seven locks. This is a remaining part of the Confessor's building and its uses give it a peculiar distinction. From the time of the Confessor till that of Edward I it was the Treasury of England. This use illustrates the close connection between the Palace and Abbey. In this Treasury were kept the most honoured of the National trophies and relics,



M. L. BAKER

The Chapel of the Pyx in Westminster Abbey, once the Treasury of England. The structure against the wall at the left usually regarded as an altar, is believed by some to be the Tomb of Hugolin, Treasurer of Edward the Confessor. The Watcher's Beam is seen between the central pillar and the opposite pier.

including the sword of Wayland Smith and the Black Rood of Scotland. It is called the Chapel of the Pyx because there the Norman, Plantagenet and Tudor Kings kept the Pyx or chest containing the standard pieces of gold and silver used in testing the coins of the realm, but it was also the Royal Treasury which with its ponderous walls and seven locked door with seven keys held by seven different Abbey officials was considered robberproof. The spell was broken in 1303. In June of that year, Edward the First was at Linlithgow fighting the Scots when news came to him that his treasury had been robbed. It was surely the most daring robbery in history for the



The Norman Undercroft in Westminster Abbey, a surviving part of the work of Edward the Confessor.

robbers got away with about three million pounds sterling, at present values, in gold and left Edward's crown and the regalia strewn on the floor. The Abbot of Westminster and forty eight monks together with thirty two laymen were arrested and committed to the Tower. At the trial the Abbot and all but two of the holy men were able to make out a case for themselves but a suspicion has always attached to them and it is hard to see how the robbery could have been carried out without their connivance. The subprior and the sacristan were implicated together with some of the laymen. Dean Stanley, the historian of the Abbey, assures us that, attached to the door of the Treasury and also to some of the adjacent doors, are to be found

some remaining pieces of human skin which he gives us to understand are the tangible evidence of the indemnity demanded by Edward I of the robbers. Perhaps I ought to call them reparations but in any case they were paid and they were ample enough to line the doors. I confess that I have not seen the evidence but I have not lived in the Abbey like Dean Stanley.

After the robbery the relics and the Regalia continued to reside in the same place as formerly but the Treasury was established elsewhere and the Pyx was placed in the custody of the Goldsmiths Company where it still remains. The relics and Regalia were



The West Cloister, looking north, Westminster Abbey.

destroyed by the Commonwealth Government which broke into the Chapel and removed them. Included in this destruction was the Regalia of the Saxon Kings. The present Regalia of England, which is kept in the Tower, is taken for one night to the Abbey in token of old guardianship and on the eve of Coronation Day is deposited in Jerusalem Chamber.

The Chapel of the Pyx and adjoining Norman Undercroft, together with the crypt of the Chapter House, are the oldest parts of the Abbey and date from the eleventh century. A few steps south from the door of the Chapel of the Pyx the Dark Cloister opens to the left and leads to the Little Cloisters. From the Dark Cloister one reaches also the Norman Undercroft now incorporated in West-

minster School which occupies a group of buildings including the monks' dormitory and refectory. The dormitory is over the East Cloister and the refectory runs the length of the South Cloister with which it connects by a door. Ashburnham House designed by Inigo Jones, formerly the property of Lord Ashburnham is now also incorporated in the School. It has many fine architectural features, especially the exquisite carving round the doorways and the beautiful staircase. In the Cloisters were buried the abbots, and in the enclosed garden were the graves of the monks. Along the South Cloister may be seen, close against the stone seat ranged along the wall, the stone effigies of the Norman Abbots carved in the slabs above their graves.



Westminster Abbey from the Dean's yard.

No one can walk through the East Cloister without pausing in front of that plain little tablet in the wall that says so meekly sweet amid all these memories: JANE LISTER, DEAR CHILDE, breathed over a faded flower of youth.

In the West Cloister is the grave of John Broughton, buried there in 1789. Below his name and date there is a blank space on the slab in the pavement that covers his grave. That space was intended for the words CHAMPION OF ENGLAND, but whoever was dean in 1789 jibbed at that and the space was left blank. But everyone knows that the great Broughton was the Prince of Prize Fighters in his day, the Champion Heavyweight of Britain. If I am not mistaken he was also the inventor of the modern boxing glove. The West Cloister was the original place of the Westminster School for there the Master of the Novices used to preside over his disciples.

The Abbey has been called correctly enough the Temple of Silence and Reconciliation, but it is much more than that. It is many things and I think that it is preëminently the Apotheosis of the National Character. At its inception an act of homage to Saint Peter on the part of a pious King. Then a temple rising like a prophet's vision round the Sovereign's dust. Then generations of Kings and Queens entombed around the shrine of Sacred Majesty. Saint Peter is supplanted. Courtiers and statesmen cluster round the kings as the widening circle grows. Philosophers, poets, soldiers, sailors, divines, historians, explorers, men of science, artists, antiquarians, physicians, actors and actresses fill up the ranks of the National Valhalla and the prize fighter is there to redress the balance.

There is no committee or high tribunal and no superior authority to decide who shall be honoured and who shall be excluded, nothing but the national instinct. For method or uniformity in honouring the Nation's dead you may look in vain. Neither rule nor regularity is observed. Order has no sanction and congruity no hearing. If there is any conformity it is to Nature's great and inexorable plan of inequality, partiality and caprice. Lord Byron is turned away and St. Evremond is admitted. Shakespeare is not buried in the Abbey but you will find the tomb of Chaucer and the grave of Spenser who died for lack of bread, and of Ben Jonson who in his old age was saved by his friends from abject want. Bacon is not among the philosophers, nor has he a line to his name in the Abbey, but the author of the Beggar's Opera is among the wits and the lines on his tomb record his own philosophy.

Life is a jest and all things show it;
I thought so once and now I know it.

Neither Keats nor Shelley has a memorial, no one knows why; but Longfellow has a monument, because the Nation has never discovered that Americans are not compatriots. It is very human and altogether English. It is a microcosm of the National life expressed in terms of death.

Westminster School is descended from a monastic college as old as the Abbey itself. It was remodeled by Queen Elizabeth who founded the King's Scholars, a distinguished feature of a very distinguished school, that must be one of the oldest schools of England. No longer a dependent of the Abbey, Westminster School is one of its surviving glories, and as if in memory of the severed ties

the boys attend service in the Abbey and have a right to seats in the choir at each Coronation.

Even the assent of the people of England to the election of the sovereign has found its voice in modern days through the shouts of the scholars from their recognized seats in the Abbey. (Dean Stanley.)

From the School one may walk through the Dean's Yard where the drowsy stillness is shaded by great elm trees that seem like a



Stairs in Ashburnham House, designed by Inigo Jones. From a photograph made for the Society for Photographing Old Buildings.

sacred grove for pigeons. At No. 7 Dean's Yard is the Royal Almonry Office, not to be confounded with the Almonry of Westminster Abbey. From that office the King's alms are distributed at Christmas and at Easter. On one of these occasions the distribution takes place at a service in the Abbey, a surviving custom of great antiquity which I have described in another place.

From the Dean's Yard one may pass to the Jerusalem Chamber and the adjoining dining hall of the Abbots' house, now the dining hall of Westminster School. The long tables are great timbers from the ships of the Armada. Through Dean's yard the visitor passes out through the Dean's gate facing the Westminster column opposite the West front of the Abbey and so into Broad Sanctuary.



Doorway in Ashburnham House, Westminster, now incorporated in the Westminster School together with parts of the Monastic Buildings of the Abbey. From a photograph made for the Society for Photographing Old Buildings.

BROAD SANCTUARY

Here let us pause while the traffic of London sweeps around and consider the memories preserved in the name of the ground on which we stand. Here the civil power had no authority, for in that precinct the sanctity of the Abbey extended its protection to the fugitive pursued by the agents of the law. Here the criminal had right of

sanctuary and here the hunted offender was safe from the private vengeance of his enemy. Within this sacred precinct was a massive tower with a strong door where the fugitive might find lodging and shelter, but material defences were not necessary, for the sanctity of the place was sufficient. Broad Sanctuary extended on the West and North of the Abbey as far as Parliament Square and its boundaries



Archway in Ashburnham House. From a photograph made for the Society for Photographing Old Buildings.

were the inviolate line of the Church's authority. To ignore those boundaries in the pursuit of an enemy or in vindication of the law was sacrilege. The King himself would not venture on so dangerous an errand and Cardinal Wolsey dared not take thence his enemy. Among all who took sanctuary there few were so wronged as the Queen Mother, Elizabeth Woodville, widow of Edward IV. Twice she took sanctuary from Richard Duke of Gloucester and there

her son, Edward V, was "born in sorrow and baptized like a poor man's child."

Just outside the western bounds of this sanctuary, over towards the end of Tothill Street, there stood a great gatehouse built by Richard II, massive as a fortress and destined for a prison. Its gloomy chronicle of events is sharply accentuated at one point. It was there that Walter Raleigh spent the night before his execution when he wrote his last thoughts on life.

Even such is time that takes on trust
Our youth, our joys and all we have
And pays us naught but age and dust,
Which in the dark and silent grave
When we have wandered all our ways
Shuts up the story of our days.

After sentence had been passed on him in Westminster Hall, he was conveyed thence in a carriage to the Gatehouse. The Dean of Westminster who came to pray with him was embarrassed by his high spirits. Then came his wife to spend their last evening together. She left him shortly after midnight. In the morning he "was very cheerful and merry, ate his breakfast heartily and took a last whiff of his beloved tobacco, and made no more of his death than if he had been about to take a journey."

Among the other prisoners who were confined in the Gatehouse was the Royalist Richard Lovelace who there wrote a little poem that everybody knows.

Stone walls do not a prison make
Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for a hermitage.
If I have freedom in my love
And in my soul am free,
Angels alone that soar above
Enjoy such liberty.

If it had been a very dreadful prison, the Cavalier Poet would probably not have felt like writing such sweet and tender sentiments, but it is true that the Gatehouse prison afterwards acquired a very bad reputation. Dr. Johnson denounced it as a disgrace to London and it was removed in his time.

To return to Broad Sanctuary, it possessed a greater degree of sanctity than other places to which a similar privilege attached.

Every Church afforded the same form of protection and there were in London two special chartered sanctuaries that, owing to the security afforded them within their sacred bounds, became strongholds of thieves and robbers, where the frontier was a deadline that no outsider dared to trespass. Across that deadline the inhabitants of the sanctuary conducted raids upon the peaceful inhabitants of the City. These sanctuaries were the notorious St. Martin le Grand—now occupied by the General Post Office, and Alsatia, a name applied by the lawless inhabitants to Whitefriars adjoining the Temple, now the territory of the Press.

Broad Sanctuary never was subject to the abuses that made St. Martin le Grand and Alsatia a menace to their neighbours and



Westminster Abbey as represented on the Bayeux tapestry. At the left is seen a corner of the Palace and on an enclosing wall is the figure of a man grasping with one hand the weathercock of the Abbey and with the other a turret of the Palace.

a scandal to the City. At Westminster the right of sanctuary remained what it was intended to be, a refuge where anyone might find safety from the vengeance of the law or from the persecution of his fellowmen. The privilege of Sanctuary was abolished in 1697.

WESTMINSTER PALACE

We have seen how King Canute built himself a palace at Thorney on the site of older buildings and how Edward the Confessor occupied and enlarged the same Royal dwelling. William the Conqueror resided there at times and it was probably his principal dwelling while the Tower was building. His son William Rufus started to rebuild the Palace of which he lived to complete only the Banqueting Hall now called Westminster Hall. His successors continued during many generations to add building after building until the area now

occupied by the Houses of Parliament including New Palace Yard, so called because it was the great forecourt of William Rufus's new palace, was occupied by the King's House, Westminster. It was the principal Royal dwelling till Henry VIII moved to Whitehall which Wolsey's fall left vacant. Westminster Palace was like a little city enclosed by towered walls. The appearance that it presented must have been picturesque in the extreme. When its courts and halls and galleries and gardens were filled with colour, with the splendour of a mediæval court and its gorgeous retinue, it must have been very wonderful. Among its historic halls were the Painted Chamber, the



Westminster Hall. Built by William Rufus as a new banqueting hall for Westminster Palace. It has witnessed many historic scenes including trial of William Wallace, the trial of Charles I and trial of William Hastings. It is now incorporated in Westminster Palace or the Houses of Parliament and this view is the one seen from New Palace yard. From an old print.

Prince's Chamber, the Star Chamber, Saint Stephen's Chapel, Westminster Hall and the Old House of Lords. After 1547 the House of Commons met in Saint Stephen's Chapel having moved over from the Chapter House of the Abbey. The walls that enclosed the Palace enclosed also the Abbey. There was a private communication between the two, and the church was in fact the Royal Chapel attached to the Palace of Westminster.

All of the Palace buildings with one exception were burned down in 1832 in a great fire. The one exception was Westminster Hall, William Rufus's great banqueting hall, which may give an idea of the scale of the Palace. This hall and the crypt of Saint

Stephen's Chapel, which also escaped, have been incorporated in the New Houses of Parliament begun after the fire and finished in 1857. When the ground was being cleared of the débris left by the fire, a vast system of crypts, cellars, vaults and foundation walls belonging to the Palace of Canute and his successors were uncovered. To give a solid foundation for the new buildings these were filled in with cement, and on those venerable foundations the Houses of Parliament stand. In the erection of that great pile, Saint Stephen's Chapel, which bore the same relation to the Palace as St. George's bears to



The Interior of Westminster Hall, built by William Rufus as a banqueting hall. The fine oak roof with hammer beams was restored by Richard II. It is now incorporated in the west side of the Houses of Parliament.

Windsor, was rebuilt on its old foundations and above its old crypt which, not being injured, was kept intact. The restored chapel is known as Saint Stephen's Hall and a plate in the floor marks the position of the Speaker's Chair when the House of Commons used to meet in Saint Stephen's Chapel. It adjoins Westminster Hall, now used only on rare occasions, a noble old edifice whose oaken roof with its hammer beams was restored by Richard II. It was formerly used as a law court and it is crowded with memories of historic scenes. The trial of Wallace, the trial of Raleigh, the trial of Charles I, and

the trial of Warren Hastings, stand out among events the most stirring in the history of England and the Empire.

The space between the houses of Parliament and the Abbey is called Old Palace Yard. One great figure in the long procession moving across that space is revealed with distinctness among innumerable shadows. Of all the varied scenes enacted in that Palace precinct since the days of the Confessor, one scene remains indelibly impressed on men's minds. Shakespeare who had been dead two years was spared that scene, as strange, as tragic and as great as anything his genius had created for the stage. But there was a young law student at the Temple, one Oliver Cromwell, who doubtless saw it all and there was a lad in Cheapside named John Milton who may have witnessed it too, and this is what they saw.

It is a chill November morning. The pavements and the roofs are covered with a mantle of hoar frost. Early though it is, Old Palace Yard is filled with people. From every window others look down—waiting. There is no movement. It is an expectant crowd, subdued and mournful, but here and there a suppressed voice is heard in angry tones. The venerable pile of the Palace, its roofs whitened with the frost, its hoary battlements and turrets outlined against the eastern dawn, fills in the prospect, closing the view like a scene on the stage. A little advanced in the foreground stands a scaffold draped in black. The waiting is not prolonged. In the centre of the approaching group is a weary man whose hair and beard are turning grey. There is a great dignity in his look and he walks with firm step and proudly, head erect. The heart within him is a broken heart but it is the heart of an Englishman. And all England is regarding him.

Some had been his fellows in the Temple, some had drunk with him at the Mermaid, some had known him as the gallant favourite at a brilliant court, some had fought beside him in Ireland in the service of the Queen and some had been with him when he drove his questing keels through perilous seas to shores unknown. And now they see him once again—see him with a front as bold as when he stormed the Spanish Main.

Home is the sailor, home from the sea,
And the hunter is home from the hills.

The sheriff asks him respectfully whether he will step within and warm himself at the fire before ascending the scaffold. "Nay,

if it please you we will have it over quickly." Without help he reaches the scaffold. Turning towards the headsman standing there he touches lightly the edge of the axe. "Sharp medicine," says he.

A few words of farewell with his face raised towards the hushed assembly. Then there is a response that rolls across Old Palace Yard and out from the windows where some of England's greatest stand. Then he lays aside his cloak and kneels and bows his head till his neck rests on the curving surface of the block, so artfully carved to fit between a man's head and shoulders. Standing over him, the headsman seems nervous and hesitant.

"Strike, man!" They are his last words.

His body was laid in St. Margaret's, Westminster. There in the chancel you may read his name. His head, wrapped in a cloth, was carried from the scaffold on that morning to a closed carriage not far away in which his lady sat waiting to receive it. She took it home and laid it in a shrine she had made for it and kept it all her days and when she died she left it to her son—and that is the end of the story.

The Houses of Parliament are by tradition a Royal Palace and by virtue of that fact are in the custody of the Lord Great Chamberlain, an hereditary office not to be confused with that of the Lord Chamberlain. It has a King's Robing Room used by the King during his State visits; a Royal Gallery and a Prince's Chamber, besides the House of Lords, the House of Commons and more than a thousand chambers and apartments, the Speakers House and miles of passage.

The exterior of Westminster Palace presents a richly ornamented late Gothic style of architecture dominated by Victoria Tower on the South end and by the Clock Tower on the North. Its Western front is partly occupied by Old Westminster Hall incorporated on that side, but the East front rising from the river presents in an unbroken stretch the outlines of a well proportioned and stately building, a legend expressed in modern terms but with a fine sense of its ancient glories. It shows what the Nineteenth Century could do.

* * * * *

It is interesting and instructive to compare these two ancient cities, London and Westminster, lying side by side on the same bank of the Thames. In its history Westminster is not identified with the stout resistance of London or with that intense civic loyalty and impregnable defense that accentuates the CITY's history down

to the present time. The history of Westminster leaves one to infer that it has been remarkably indifferent to all these things. Until it became a Metropolitan borough, almost the only government that city had known was an ecclesiastical government, following its traditional position of an estate attached to the Abbey. Its population had inherited no experience of government and it had no civic consciousness. Yet Westminster was the birthplace of modern constitutional government and remains the seat of national administration and of organized Society as represented by parliament.

It is the peculiar quality of London on the other hand that it always had a strong civic consciousness and also, from the time its history becomes clear, the kind of assurance that is born of long experience with the management of its affairs. What was the source of that consciousness and that assurance and how did London gain that experience? The Saxons were not city builders; they knew only village life. These attributes did not come in with the Normans for it preceded and survived the coming of the Norman monarchy. They could only have been derived from a Roman London that preserved its identity and passed on its customs and traditions. Its walls are down but its defences, built up of Charters of the CITY, Charters of the City Companies, customs that have the force of law and privileges that no one can explain and that owe their firm validity to their never having been questioned, or being questioned have been successfully maintained,—these defences have been proof against all assaults up to the present day. It seems to me that the modern historians who have presented the view that London derives its singular position from Roman times have an irresistible argument that could be developed much farther than has yet been done.

Quite apart from London's historic and traditional preëminence, each of these two cities occupies in the affairs of today a separate and distinct preëminence of its own. The City of London is the financial and economic centre of things and the City of Westminster is the political centre of a far flung system.



XII

WHITEHALL

3rd Gentleman.

So she parted,
And with the same full state paced back again,
To York place where the feast is held.

1st Gentleman.

Sir, you
Must no more call it York place, that is past,
For since the Cardinal fell that title's lost,
'Tis now the King's and called Whitehall.

3rd Gentleman.

I know it,
But 'tis so lately altered that the old name
Is fresh about me.

KING HENRY VIII, Act IV, Scene 1.

From Trafalgar Square the street that runs due south is called for the first few yards Charing Cross. At its southern end it is known as Parliament Street. Its main course between is Whitehall, the broad way that takes its name from the Royal Palace that witnessed so many vivid events in English History. Today the name associates itself with the government of the British Empire. It contains all the Offices of that government and it contains Downing Street. To the stranger visiting London therefore it promises something of the awesome thrill that is evoked by the presence of power. Here are the seats of the mighty. Here is the powerhouse of the Empire. The visitor starting from the base of Nelson's monument passes the statue of Charles I and following the direction of the Monarch's gaze, he presently finds himself in Whitehall. At his right is the Admiralty. On his left he passes the War Office, then on his right rises the Horse Guards, then the Treasury. The buildings tower above him, worn and weather stained like a line of cliffs. Suddenly on his right there is a narrow opening, a cleft in the rocks and the visitor sees the words DOWNING STREET. It is not a street, it is a narrow opening like a cave in the uncompromising line of cliffs. The visitor pauses. He is thinking of lions. The figure of a lion has been somewhere in his

mind since he left Trafalgar Square—a huge and imposing lion couchant. With a startled feeling the stranger realizes that he has reached the Lion's den. It is in that cavern marked Downing Street. The mouth is guarded by a policeman whom the stranger considers with some misgiving. He stands motionless and resembles other London policemen; he is without arms of any kind and there is no menace in his pose. Reassured, the stranger takes his courage in his hands and ventures within. He sees a narrow vista, short and open at the other end, and in the distance a leafy perspective, calm, placid and detached. The visitor is half relieved but more than half disappointed. He ventured into the Lion's den and it offers the prospect of a little gateway leading to a playground open to the sky. He stops uncertain and looks about him. Close at hand is a row of three small houses, dingy and unpretentious, with perfectly plain brick fronts. They all look alike and are altogether unimpressive. The threshold of each small door is on the level of the pavement of the public thoroughfare and without the smallest vestige of protection. The nearest door has the number 10 plainly marked so that the visitor may not go wrong. It is 10 Downing Street, the official residence of the Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury, trying to efface itself from the public eye. It takes the stranger in London some time to be reconciled to this discovery and to get over a feeling that almost amounts to the resentment of one who has been trifled with. When he becomes more accustomed to Whitehall however, Downing Street grows upon the stranger and in time leaves an impression of great dignity that goes a long way to restore his preconceived ideas. But no one can forget his first view of that modest tenement or the feeling of wonder that it leaves on his mind.

From the Thames to St. James's Park, the whole district was included in Whitehall Palace. Its history begins in the thirteenth century when Hubert de Burgh, who owned a palace on the bank of the Thames, bequeathed it to the Dominicans. The Black Friars never occupied the property but sold it to the Archbishop of York, and it was thereafter known as York Place. For two hundred and fifty years it remained the town house of the Archbishops of York and the last of the long line of prelates to occupy it was Cardinal Wolsey. It then acquired a splendour to match the pomp in which Wolsey lived.

The House of his predecessors was not on a scale to meet Wolsey's needs. It was not ample enough to contain the power with which

he saw fit to surround himself. He therefore built himself a palace on a magnificent scale and furnished it in a style of surpassing richness. When Wolsey fell like Lucifer from that dizzy height, Henry took over York Place and in his turn built even more magnificent additions and added a tilt yard and a cockpit, together with new tennis courts and a new bowling green. The Palace completed by these two builders was of brick and in the same style as Hampton Court. It was of a prodigious size for it covered twenty three acres. Hampton Court Palace covers eight acres and Buckingham Palace only two and a half. It was Henry who changed the name from York Place to Whitehall.



The Palace of Whitehall, showing the Banqueting Hall and Holbein's Gate. This Banqueting Hall is the only part of the palace remaining today. Holbein's gate was taken down in the 18th Century. The Duke of Cumberland, of Culloden fame, saved the bricks intending to have the gate reërected at the end of the Long Walk, Windsor, but the plan was not carried out. From a Drawing by Hollar made in the early part of the Reign of Charles I and now in the Pepysian Library of Cambridge.

The palace precincts were intersected by a narrow public way called King Street nearly on the line of the present Whitehall. To protect the royal domain Henry erected two fine gates on this street, one to the south called King Street Gate and the other on the north called Holbein's Gate, a towered structure designed by the artist after whom it was named. These gates were removed in the eighteenth century. Under Elizabeth the chief Royal residence was at Whitehall and the brilliant court of the great Queen more than matched its earlier fame. James I intended to build an entirely new palace on the site of the old and plans prepared by Inigo Jones contemplated an enormous building covering twenty four acres, unmatched in Europe for size and magnificence. The work was begun and, but for the misfortunes of the Stuarts and their constant finan-

cial difficulties, it would have been carried to completion. The only part ever finished was the Banqueting Hall, which stands opposite the Horse Guards and now contains the collections of the Royal United Service Museum. In 1697 all of the buildings of Whitehall Palace except this new Banqueting Hall were burned to the ground and the court removed to St. James's. That ended the career of Whitehall as a Royal residence. Most of the grounds were given away or sold and parts of them are now occupied by Richmond Terrace, Montague House and Whitehall Gardens.

Underneath the Board of Trade Buildings in Whitehall Gardens is a large vaulted chamber with heavy groins. It is thirty feet wide and seventy feet long and fifteen feet high. It is reached by a doorway having a flat pointed arch in a square architrave with shields in the spandrels containing the arms of York and those of Wolsey. This chamber that shows all the properties of Tudor architecture was the great Cardinal's wine cellar. It is all that remains of Wolsey's building and together with the Banqueting Hall of James I is all that is left of the great palace of Whitehall.

To recall the associations of Whitehall would be to recall the history of the English court for one hundred and fifty years, under Tudor and Stuart. There Shakespeare places the meeting of Henry and Anne Boleyn at a festival given by Wolsey. There Henry married Anne and there he died. It was there that Cromwell died. There the revelries of Charles II and his court took place. There Monmouth pled in vain with James II for his life after the battle of Sedgemoor and thence James went into exile in 1688.

But one event that associates itself with Whitehall stands out in sharp relief, detaching itself from all the others and making the name a symbol for all ages. The execution of Charles I is English history but London's part in that business must be recalled. At the outset of the trouble the CITY was solidly Royalist, though if anyone had cause for grievance, it was the Londoner. Only the unaccountable and almost incredible blunders of the King turned a majority against him. In 1641 Charles was splendidly entertained at the Guildhall by the Lord Mayor and the CITY officials. Then came the attempt to seize the five members of parliament. It was an act without precedent for the King to enter the House of Commons, and when he appeared in that chamber the five members had taken warning and fled to the CITY where they hid themselves. The next act of the King lost him the support of London. He entered the

Guildhall while the Lord Mayor was presiding at a meeting of the Common Council and demanded the arrest of the five members of parliament who were hiding in London. This act was a violation of the CITY's rights, was accordingly resented and the royal request refused.



The Door of Cardinal Wolsey's Wine Cellar, under the Board of Trade Buildings in Whitehall Gardens.

On January 10, 1642, King Charles I went out from Whitehall to join his army and when he returned seven years later, it was to mount the scaffold erected by his enemies in front of the Banqueting Hall of the Palace. If Charles had kept London on his side he could have won. Without the CITY's support he lost. When it came to war, official London was on Parliament's side and the CITY train-

bands went out to join the parliamentary forces, but even then and to the bitter end a strong minority in London remained Royalist.

When on January 6, 1648, the parliament created a court to try the King it was apprehensive about the attitude of the CITY. Therefore, an election of the City Council taking place at that time, parliament prevented all but its known friends from taking part in that election. The Lord Mayor who was known to be a man of independent mind was thus left with a Council that did not represent London but represented only the parliamentary faction. When, on January 18, the Lord Mayor came to the Guildhall for a meeting of his court he was confronted by a Council that refused to take the oath and immediately proceeded to draw up a petition to parliament signifying their assent to the trial of the King. The Lord Mayor and the Aldermen then left the hall. In the absence of the Lord Mayor there was no court of the Common Council but that did not prevent the councilmen from going on with the petition.

The court created to try the King met in Old Westminster Hall. Among the judges appointed by parliament were five London aldermen. Three of these refused to attend and the other two though present took no part in the proceedings. When the time came for the members of the court to sign the King's death warrant, the Londoners refused. The CITY therefore took no part in the trial and never gave its assent to the execution. On the other hand the CITY took no active steps to save the King although there were signs that caused the parliament uneasiness. As the King passed out of Westminster Hall after his sentence had been passed, the crowd of citizens filling the lower end of the ancient edifice had shouted "God save the King."

Now London had always claimed the right to a separate voice in the election of a king and on the same ground might exercise the prerogative of a separate demand in the momentous events that were now developing. But the Lord Mayor, having a Council that did not represent the CITY but the King's enemies, was deprived of the constitutional means of giving expression to the CITY's right or the CITY's will. If the Lord Mayor had led a popular movement on behalf of the King, he might indeed have prevailed but he would be acting not as a magistrate but as the leader of a popular demonstration.

The scaffold was erected in the road in front of the Banqueting Hall of Whitehall, now the Royal United Service Museum. Charles, having slept at St. James's Palace, walked across St. James's Park

on the morning appointed for his execution, entered the Hall and stepped upon the scaffold through an open window that is now marked with a tablet. Troops of his enemies were placed between him and the citizens. Two bodies of troops marched back and forth between Westminster and Charing Cross to prevent the crowd from forming. Charles appeared calm, self possessed and very kingly. His speech, heard by few, has been imperfectly reported, but it shows him in full possession of his wits and with a clear perception of the rights and wrongs of his cause. It also shows a courage that was proof against suffering and disaster. The crowd, regarding him in that supreme moment, was profoundly moved. An eyewitness wrote as follows.

The blow I saw given and can truly say with a sad heart, at the instant whereof, I remember well, there was such a groan by the Thousands then present as I never heard before and desire I may never hear again.

The tragedy of Charles I is that like the rest of the Stuarts he did not understand his subjects. Had he possessed that knowledge of his people that is the security alike of sovereigns and of realms and makes for the greatness of both, his reign might have been one of the most brilliant in English History. The foreigner in London today is impressed at once by the strength and security of the Throne. If he comes from parts where Republican institutions prevail he is sometimes surprised at the immense influence that the Crown brings to bear on the national life, an influence that makes itself felt to the farthest confines of the Empire. It is true that the secret of that overshadowing power of the Throne is not to be found in the Constitution. From that unwritten law one must appeal to the presiding genius of English History. The secret begins to reveal itself to a superficial observation in the brilliant exercise of a gift for understanding their subjects that belongs to the present occupants of the British Throne. It is further explained by the sensitiveness of the same subjects to that understanding, and their quick response to the gesture of intelligence and sympathy. The subjects of Charles I were just as sensitive as the subjects of King George and could he but have shown them a fraction of that penetration of their minds and that knowledge of their hearts that the subjects of George V are accustomed to, he might have led them to great ends. The difference today is in the monarchy itself, not in the people; it is in the sovereign, not in the subject. That is a lesson that London

teaches. The Capital that has dealt with its kings for a thousand years has demonstrated to the world a pattern of Constitutional Monarchy that claims allegiance in lands as far from London as it is possible to travel on the circumference of the earth. True, this theme belongs in National History, but London has always led the national aspirations and represented the national cause. It is also true that the course of political evolution and the trend of Imperial development are among the causes of the present ascendancy of the Crown—but these aspects of Constitutional government in England are closely related to the great rôle of London as the Capital of the Empire.

LONDON UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH

Parliament having removed the King, it passed an act abolishing the Monarchy. Since the Lord Mayor would not do its bidding he was put in the Tower and fined £2000. Then the CITY at the bidding of parliament elected his successor to whom was assigned the duty of reading publicly the proclamation abolishing the Monarchy. It was greeted with hoots and groans. Two of the aldermen who failed to attend the ceremony were called before the bar of the House where one stated that he had taken the oath of allegiance to the King and could not be absolved from that oath. The other stated that the whole business was obnoxious to him. Both were deprived of the right to hold office.

But London was going through a new chapter of experiences, different from anything it had known. There was general prohibition of old sports, pastimes and favourite amusements; pageants were forbidden; the theatres were closed. Ancient monuments that enshrined the popular traditions, idols of the City, like Eleanor's Cross at Charing and Eleanor's Cross at Cheapside, ancient emblems of a great King's love and a great public grief, were demolished to reprove the sin of idolatry. There was no protest, for the City had been weakened and wearied by the war, and besides it was threatened by the army of parliament. Yet things were happening. Charles, already regarded by many as a martyr, began to assume in the popular estimation the likeness of the crucified Christ. All the nobler qualities that had been his were present in men's minds. They remembered the scenes in Old Westminster Hall and they recalled his bearing on the scaffold. They began to talk of his son in exile, and they began, first in secret and then openly, to drink to the health

of King Charles. The City Council, no longer subservient, called out six regiments of CITY militia and began to repair the gates and replace the great chains. It was London's old, old way: mend the walls, close the gates, up with the defenses. Then General Monck, under orders from parliament, entered London with the army and took up his quarters in Whitehall. No one knew what he meant to do. Parliament dissolved the City Council, ordered the gates to be removed and instructed General Monck to occupy the CITY with his troops. Monck complied by holding a conference with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. The repairing of the gates went on. Then from within those gates Monck began to issue demands upon parliament which now discovered that the army of General Monck had been won over by the CITY. Now people talked openly about the Restoration. The Skinners Company placed the Royal Arms on the front of their Hall and a man climbed up on the Royal Exchange and removed the motto that had been placed there by the Government. The Council issued a proclamation disavowing its acts during the last twenty years and expressing a hope that the country would now return to the old order of King, Lords and Commons.

LONDON AND THE RESTORATION

Meantime the old parliament had dissolved itself and a new one was elected. It was Royalist through and through. The Royal exile was waiting at the Hague. A commission was sent to him by the new parliament and by the CITY and he was proclaimed King. Then the feelings of the CITY broke loose and got beyond all bounds. Even Pepys thought the crowd went too far. Bonfires were lit, everyone was made to go on his knees and drink the King's health. Monck's soldiers were feasted till there wasn't a sober man among them. To pay their respects in proper form to the Rump Parliament they carried around on poles, rumps of mutton and of beef which they roasted at the bonfires and ate while they drank deep and roared their duty to the King. Pepys wrote in his diary that he went home at 10 o'clock—a very late hour—and left it going strong.

The old sports and pastimes came back with a great rebound. Theatres were opened, maypoles went up with shouts of approval, with dancing and the pleasant sound of pipes. The people had not forgotten how to play. After the winter of their discontent their spirits ran high like a stream in springtime freed from its bonds of

ice. All the little things they cared for were made their own again, as life and youth came back to the ways they are wont to go.

Charles was received with tumultuous demonstrations and his entry into the CITY brought back all the splendours of Mediæval pageantry. The repudiation of puritanism and its ways was complete and overwhelming. King and people together came back to their own in a blaze of glory. They came back to their own together—the King and his subjects. They still had many differences to adjust between them, many disputes and many old scores to settle before they were to meet after many generations to work together for the fulfillment of their common destiny. But they had come back together and they were happy in the event. Whatever happened afterwards, they never permitted themselves to be without a King.

John Milton, secretary to Oliver Cromwell, wrote a pamphlet on behalf of his employers to justify the execution of Charles I. One of the charges that he brought against the King was the charge that he had been in the habit of spending hours in solitude reading the works of William Shakespeare. That was not in the catalogue of sins compiled by the enemies of Charles II. He was a real sinner and a very different type of man from his father. He kept his mistresses at Whitehall and his court was gay and festive, but the wicked, profligate and corrupt court that figures in contemporary gossip and literature and in the minds of later generations is a fiction. The losing side had to have its revenge somehow. Charles was a shrewd and masterful monarch whose days and nights in a large measure, were spent in outwitting everyone with whom he found himself in conflict on his way to supreme power. His court at Whitehall had manners that might have shocked some of his predecessors. It doubtless would have enraged Cromwell and we know that it offended Milton, but the days of the puritans were over. The Restoration was the sequel to that episode; life had entered its protest; the language of the day rang with life's challenge; the manners of the day proclaimed Nature's revulsion and the Court at Whitehall was the undisguised emblem of the common revolt.

ST. JAMES'S PALACE, BUCKINGHAM PALACE AND MARLBOROUGH HOUSE

In the tenth century there stood, westward from the CITY a hospital dedicated to St. James the Less. On the site of that hospital Henry VIII built in 1522 a hunting lodge from plans by Holbein.

That hunting lodge was the nucleus of St. James's Palace that retains in its gate on the north, in the chapel and in the presence chamber parts of the original structure. When Whitehall was burned down in 1697 the Court moved to St. James's. It is no longer a Royal residence but its tradition is so persistent that the Court is still known officially as the Court of St. James's. The King's levees are still held at St. James's Palace and the Prince of Wales when in London lives at York House which is that part of the Palace to the west of the old gate that looks up St. James's Street. The Palace is a brick structure, low and picturesque, built about a number of courts. In the Friary courtyard opening on the east side, there takes place every morning at 10.30 one of those colourful sights that belong to London, the changing of the guard. For that event the crowd never



The Friary Court, St. James's Palace.

fails to arrive punctually. It takes place, irrespective of the weather on every day of the year and there are three hundred and sixty five days in the year if not more. It is one of four or five free shows that take place with the same punctuality and a very fine and gallant show it is.

Opposite St. James's Palace across a narrow road called Marlborough Gate that connects the Mall with Pall Mall is Marlborough House, built by Sir Christopher Wren for the Duke of Marlborough. There Edward VII when Prince of Wales, brought his young bride in 1862 and there they lived till Edward's accession in 1901. There the present King was born and there Queen Alexandra returned after the King's death in 1910.

The history of the Palace in which the Court resides today, Buckingham Palace, splendidly situated at the west end of the Mall

does not take us so far back in history as the other Royal Residences that were successively occupied by the sovereigns since the early Saxon Kings. It is the newest of them all and though it belonged to George III who bought it from the Duke of Buckingham, and although George IV altered it, Queen Victoria was the first monarch to make Buckingham Palace a Royal Residence.

Westminster Palace, The Tower, Whitehall, St. James's, Kensington Palace, Buckingham Palace, these are the successive Town Residences of the sovereigns since the Saxons. Of each of these some part at least remains, but of Bridewell, which was also a Royal Residence nothing is left.

XIII

RESIDENTIAL LONDON AND THE BOROUGHES

CHELSEA

Chelsea leads its charming life beside the Thames, not oblivious of the distinguished lives it has harboured but quite at ease with that splendid company and, unconcerned about its reputation, adopts all sorts of real people with supreme indifference. Old china made in Chelsea is less rare today than the buns for which it was once more famous.

When Chelsea was a village up river from Westminster, over the brook Westbourne, kings loved it and there they built them their retreats. It adopted its tone in those far off village days and it has never changed its tone or been untrue to its traditions. The chosen home of Fame, it remains unspoiled and like some of the pensioners in its Royal Hospital it never grows old or shabby or decayed. It is still the home of genius and the quiet, unassuming partner of the CITY in some of its greatest glories. It is now a Borough of the great Metropolis and it remains the loveliest of the places where men and women live.

It begins its history as a Saxon village with its Manor. In the eighth century the Pope sent his emissaries to England to reform the religion and these legates held their synod at Cealchythe (Chelsea). In the reign of Edward the Confessor, Thurston, Archbishop of York, having received Chilchelle (Chelsea) from the King, conveyed it to Westminster Abbey. The charter by which Edward confirmed the grant is preserved in the British Museum. In Domesday Book the name is written Cealchylle and also Chilched. In the reign of Henry VII the old Manor was in possession of the Bray family whose tomb is the oldest in Chelsea Old Church. From the Brays the Manor House was bought by Henry VIII. At that time Sir Thomas More was living "at my pore howse in Chelcith." The Manor next became a part of the marriage jointure of Queen Catherine Parr, sixth and last wife of Henry whom she survived. She lived in the old Manor House with her fourth husband, Lord Seymour. Later the house was owned by the Duke of Northumberland, father in law to Lady

Jane Grey, and after his execution on Tower Hill his Duchess continued to hold it. Queen Elizabeth, who, as a young and inconspicuous princess, had lived there with her stepmother, Catherine Parr, afterwards gave the Manor to Lady Katherine Howard, widow of the great Lord Howard. It remained in the Howard family for several generations till bought by the Duke of Hamilton in 1639. During the Commonwealth it was seized and sold by the government but the agents of the Hamiltons bought it and held it for the family. Not long afterwards it was sold to Charles Cheyne and finally in 1712 Sir Hans Sloane, founder of the British Museum, bought it from Lord Cheyne. The descendants of Sloane, the Cadogans, are still the owners of the property but the old Manor House has long since disappeared.

Another ancient Manor House, the site of which is known, was Shrewsbury House, built in the reign of Henry VIII by the Earl of Shrewsbury whose grandson, the powerful sixth Earl, was one of Elizabeth's favourites and the keeper of Mary Queen of Scots during a part of her imprisoned life. Shrewsbury's second wife who survived him many years and inherited the Chelsea house was a very remarkable woman. He was her fourth husband and each of the four was enormously wealthy. During her final widowhood therefore she had great possessions, the greater part of which she left to her son by her second husband, Sir William Cavendish. This son, William Cavendish, was created Baron Cavendish and Earl of Devonshire and was the first of the distinguished line of noblemen represented in later history by the Dukes of Devonshire. After the death of the first Earl of Devonshire, Shrewsbury House passed out of the family. Thereafter it had different owners at different times, and it would appear that this old mansion was the original home of the famous Chelsea China Manufactory, but this has not been definitely established. However that may be, Shrewsbury House was finally the place where a celebrated pictured wall paper was made.

I believe it can be proved that people are born in Chelsea, but one never hears about them. Perhaps its wonderful gardeners are born there but those inhabitants of Chelsea who, though perhaps no greater are better known, all appear to have been born elsewhere. Sir Thomas More was born in Milk Street, Cheapside. Sir Hans Sloane was born in Ireland. Nell Gwynne was born I do not know where. Joseph Addison was born in Wilts. Sir Robert Walpole was born in Norfolk. The Kingsleys were born, one in Devonshire and

one in Northamptonshire, George Eliot in Warwickshire, Thomas Carlyle in Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire, Leigh Hunt in Southgate, Turner and Rosetti in London, Whistler in Lowell, Massachusetts and Henry James in New York. All these and many more went to live in Chelsea because they loved it. Walk where you will, you are reminded of them at every step, till entering Chelsea Old Church



Number 16 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea.

you find yourself among them. One of the oldest tombs, though not the very oldest, is that of Sir Thomas More with its epitaph by himself. The latest tomb is that of Henry James.

I believe the legend that Henry VIII married Jane Seymour secretly in Chelsea Old Church some time before the public wedding. Somehow the fine old church confirms it in my mind and tells me to believe it.

But the great living glory of Chelsea is the Royal Hospital founded by Charles II. There is a legend that it was suggested to the King by Nell Gwynne, but others say that the idea originated with Sir Stephen Fox, Paymaster General. Doubtless both stories are true. The pensioners give Charles himself all the credit and still celebrate his birthday annually. It is a truly Royal foundation, formerly supported by the Army and in later years by the Nation.



Number 6 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea.

The annual May flower show in the grounds of the hospital where the decorative instincts of Nature are in alliance and collusion with the decorative Arts of Man is always a scene of beauty triumphant. Perhaps to some minds it may recall the vanished scenes in the adjacent Ranelagh Gardens where in eighteenth century days, the wealth and beauty and fashion of London used to come to walk and take the air and see and bravely to be seen.

MAYFAIR

If the name of Chelsea conceals a meaning associated with the background of a Saxon Manor, a meaning that leaves modern scholars perplexed, the name of Mayfair presents an image that reveals at once the earlier history of the district. It is a fascinating name in whose engaging sound there is nothing obscure. In Stuart times the country north of Piccadilly was open country, and there in the green fields an annual fair was held in the pleasant month of May. It probably started after the Restoration and, beginning on the first day of May each year, lasted fifteen days. In the last year of the seventeenth century, the advertisements in the London Gazette announced that the two first days of the Fair would be for the sale of leather and live cattle. So it appears that there was marketing, but we are given to understand that the amenities and chief business of the fair included music, plays, jugglers, boxing matches, prize fights, gaming, lotteries and bull baiting. In 1708 "the yearly riotous and tumultuous assembly—called May Fair" was suppressed because it was pronounced "a public nuisance and inconvenience." It is said to be hard to put down a good thing, and we find May Fair revived after a few years and going strong throughout the eighteenth century. Then in the reign of George III some residents of Piccadilly, disturbed by the uproar that reached them from the fields, brought about its removal. In the meantime we are told that the Fair was very popular and that the nobility of London especially came in great numbers. The fashionable district had a fair beginning and good start.

It was said many years ago that the district known as Mayfair contained more ability and intelligence than any space of equal size in the world. When we consider the number of its great houses formerly the residences of great men, the claim appears to be justified. It continues to share with its southern neighbour Belgravia the fashionable life of London.

The names of Mayfair and Belgravia are unofficial. The districts to which they apply are included in the official divisions of Westminster and Marylebone. They are usually regarded as the most select and desirable residential districts of the West End, a name applied to the whole region from the west boundary of the CITY right through Westminster, Holborn, Paddington, Marylebone, Chelsea and Kensington. In this wide region the higher life of

London for the most part resides and there the best shops and hotels are located.

THE METROPOLITAN BOROUGHs

We are now brought face to face with the geography and government of the Metropolis, for the six names that I have just used belong to places which, though presenting no break in the continuity of streets and houses, are in effect distinct cities for municipal purposes and are called boroughs.

When a Londoner speaks of The Borough he means Southwark, which lies on the south side of the river as you come over London Bridge. But Southwark is only one of the boroughs of which there are twenty eight in all. Each borough has its Mayor, Aldermen and Council, just as though it were a separate city, and the way in which the inclusion of these Metropolitan Boroughs was effected calls for comment. London has grown by accretions, or by allying with itself the parishes that came gradually within the sphere of its expanding influence. The inclusion of new districts had to be accomplished without affecting the independence and separate existence of the CITY or coming in conflict with the rights of its Corporation, or in any way encroaching on its constitution. Therefore each parish as its time came to be brought under the Metropolitan jurisdiction was made a borough by converting the Parish Vestry into Mayor, Aldermen and Council. Each borough went on managing its own affairs, and was brought into harmonious relationship with all the other boroughs and with the CITY by means of an invention called The London County Council, a body having control of all matters requiring uniformity of action throughout the Metropolis and leaving to the borough councils those powers that are capable of local administration. The London County Council however does not exercise the same authority within the CITY that it exercises among the boroughs. Within those ancient boundaries the City Corporation remains supreme and no other municipal body in the Metropolis, or anywhere else for that matter, rises to the dignity of that unassailable system of mediæval government.

While we have in mind this august distinction let us be careful to observe that the form of local government in each borough is simply a copy of the City Corporation, namely, Mayor, Aldermen and Council. When the newspapers quote the utterances of a Labour Mayor in the borough of Poplar, or some other borough having

advanced ideas, we may be pardoned if we have a sense of something incongruous in London's political legacy. But we are apt to forget that the Lord Mayor of London is today, as in mediæval times, chosen by the trade guilds, the labour organizations that were already in existence when the oldest London records were made.

The boroughs to the West of the CITY are Westminster, Holborn, Paddington, Marylebone, Chelsea, Kensington, Fulham, Hammer-smith, St. Pancras. To the East are Bethnal Green, Poplar and Stepney, corresponding to the East End; to the North are Finsbury, Shoreditch, Hackney, Islington, Hampstead and Stoke Newington; on the South side of the Thames are Southwark, Bermondsey, Battersea, Camberwell, Wandsworth, Lambeth, Greenwich, Woolwich, Deptford and Lewisham. For administrative purposes Charing Cross is considered the centre of the Metropolis and any parish of which the whole is included within a 15 mile radius or of which any part comes within a 12 mile radius is included in the Metropolitan Police District, always excepting the CITY.

Besides the City Corporation, the Borough Councils and the London County Council, there are no less than 170 bodies in all having jurisdiction over parts of the government of the great City. The mere figures are enough to show that it is a complicated machine. It is moreover entirely unlike the municipal government of any other city in the United Kingdom and different from everything else, notwithstanding the fact that it has served as the model for so many cities in all the world. It is something that could not be copied.

Having given this complete account of the government of London I hope to make it still more clear by means of an illustration. For this purpose I will take Southwark. After long and laborious research into the relation of Southwark to the general scheme of things, my net result consists in three clearly established facts as follows. (a) Southwark is a borough of the Metropolis. (b) It is a ward of the CITY. (c) It is neither the one nor the other.

It is a borough because it has had a Charter since Norman times and has sent a representative to Parliament since 1296. On the other hand, it is not a borough because it has neither Mayor, Aldermen nor Common Council of its own. Hence it is called *The Borough*.

It is a ward of the CITY because it was granted to the CITY by a Charter of Edward VI. On the other hand, it is not a ward of the CITY because it sends no Alderman to the Guildhall and is not represented on the Common Council that meets in the same place.

Hence it is designated the Ward of Bridge Without. As a borough it can acknowledge no jurisdiction on the part of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and neither can it have any share in the Corporation. As a ward of the CITY, it forms part of the same Corporation and no one can possibly have any kind of jurisdiction within its boundaries or interfere in any way with its affairs except the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the CITY OF LONDON.

Of course any one can see at a glance that a machine like that could not possibly work. It is nevertheless a fact that it works better than any city government that has ever been devised.

XIV

LONDON BRIDGE

London Bridge is falling down,
Falling down, falling down.

OLD NURSERY RHYME.

One day in the summer of 1921, the London papers announced a discovery on the north bank of the Thames at Adelaide Place. This was nothing less than an arch of Old London Bridge, begun in 1176 by Peter of Colechurch—priest, master mason and member of the Craft or Mystery of Bridge Builders. I was so fortunate as to see this newly found fragment of mediæval London several times during that same summer and again in the summer of 1922. What I saw was a most impressive monument, presenting to a twentieth century generation the actual workmanship of a generation of twelfth century craftsmen. I am quite sure that no engineer could stand below that arch today without a feeling of humility. I hope it is to be preserved, but I have many misgivings, for difficulties were being encountered, circumstances seemed to be opposed, and London was not much interested.

The discovery was due to the sinking of foundations for an office building on the river bank. A complete arch with masonry intact was found standing a few yards below the present London Bridge, well under the level of the ground. It had been spared by the wreckers of Old London Bridge when, after the completion of the new bridge in 1832, the old bridge was removed. Evidently this shore arch was spared simply because it was not in anybody's way and nobody happened to want the stone. May we hope that the builders of today will spare it for other reasons?

To London Bridge belong legend and romance. Its history, like its arches, presents a series of connecting links, joining age to age. I believe that when the brambles of Thorney shall have reclaimed the site of Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament, when the last traces of Saint Paul's shall have disappeared and antiquarians shall have searched in vain for the site of the Tower, an arch of London Bridge will still look down upon the Thames. Its structure is the most enduring in London today.

I am not aware of anything connected with London that has played so powerfully on the imagination of Britain in all ages. I know of no other edifice that has worked its way into the folklore and legends of a people and a nation like London Bridge. In Celtic folklore and fable it is at least as old as Arthur. It crops up in mediæval legend, in nursery rhyme, in proverb and in prophesy coupled with giants, goblins, dreamgold and enchantments. There could be no



Crown of the Shore Arch of Old London Bridge, begun in 1176 and finished 30 years later. The arch was discovered in 1921 and the sketch shows it during its excavation.

better testimony to the fame of London Bridge from a very early time and to the strong impression it made on men's minds.

London Bridge was in existence before the Romans, who renewed it in their own time and in their own manner. That much we know but it is a curious fact that the Roman historians fail to mention the building of such important works as London Bridge and London

Wall. Either this same bridge or another that replaced it was in use throughout the Saxon Period. When Canute's ships sailed up the Thames to take part in the siege of London, they were unable to pass the bridge which must therefore have been a substantial structure capable of strong defense. The method devised by Canute to overcome the obstacle was to dig a canal, leading from the river below the bridge into Surrey and back into the river above the bridge. Through this canal his fleet was passed to the point of attack.

The immediate successor of the Saxon Bridge was Old London Bridge begun in 1176 and finished thirty years later. At the beginning of the present century were many people living who remembered and doubtless there are still a few who could recall it. It rested on nineteen stone arches together with a drawbridge in the middle. The stone piers, protected by starlings, acted as a kind of barrage that caused a series of cataracts at the ebbing and flowing of the tide. It was the sport to shoot the bridge in small boats, a dangerous exercise in which accidents were recorded. The drawbridge in the middle permitted the passage of large vessels.

On both sides of the draw, reaching to either shore were rows of houses, one on either side of the roadway and projecting over the water. One of the central piers was of extra size to support a chapel dedicated to Thomas à Becket, already become the patron saint of London. The Chapel of Saint Thomas towered 110 feet above the water and its interior dimensions were 20 feet by 60 feet. It was built entirely of stone with groined vaults and clustered columns and carved bosses. Beneath the chapel was a vaulted crypt. In both chapel and crypt divine service was performed daily.

Over the seventh and eighth arches from the Southwark side rose Nonesuch House, spanning the bridge and projecting over each side. It was a palace of fine proportions and striking appearance whether viewed from the shore or from the water.

This celebrated edifice overhung the east and west sides of the bridge, and there presented to the Thames two fronts of scarcely less magnificence than it exhibited to Southwark and the City, the columns, windows and carvings being similarly splendid: and, equally curious and interesting was the Nonsuch House seen from the water. Its southern front only, however, stood perfectly unconnected with other erections, that being entirely free for about 50 feet, and presenting the appearance of a large building projecting beyond the bridge on either side, having a square tower at each extremity, crowned by short domes, or Kremlin spires, whilst an antiquely-carved gable arose in each centre. The whole of the front, too, was ornamented with a profusion of transom casement windows, with

carved wooden galleries before them; and richly sculptured wooden panels and gilded columns were to be found in every part of it. In the centre was an arch, of the width of the drawbridge, leading over the bridge; and above it, on the south side, were carved the arms of St. George, of the City of London, and those of Elizabeth, France, and England, quarterly, supported by the Lion and Dragon; from which circumstances only can we estimate the time when the Nonsuch House was erected. (Thomson's *Chronicles of London Bridge*.)

At intervals on either side of the roadway there were open spaces in the line of the buildings for the convenience of the crowd. There were also chain posts along the way for the protection and convenience of foot passengers. The approach to either end of the bridge was protected by a gate with towers. In the southern gate was the portcullis, together with the gear for working the drawbridge. On top of this south gate were numerous upright rods on which were displayed the heads of people who had been convicted of treason. Among the persons whose heads were so displayed were those of Sir William Wallace, Jack Cade, the Earl of Northumberland, Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More. One traveller who visited London in 1598 wrote that he counted thirty heads on London Bridge at one time. Apparently they remained indefinitely and were allowed to accumulate. The practise was discontinued after the reign of Charles II. A cage and pillory completed the furnishing of London Bridge. At the North end of the bridge a great system of waterworks was erected to supply London with water from the Thames. This remarkable invention supplied the City with water for 200 years. In some of the spaces between the piers, grist mills were erected, driven by waterwheels.

The Arches of this Bridge serve not only for Strength and Ornament to the Bridge itself, but also for communication of the Benefits of the River Thames, to all that live upon its Banks from Westminster and upwards, unto those Parts of it where it falls into the Sea. For through these great Arches Vessels of considerable Burthen pass with Goods as well as small Wherries with Passengers. Other Uses were made of these Arches, as for Conveyance of Thames Water into the City, to supply the southern Parts, and for Mills for grinding corn. On which last use I find there were, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, certain Mills erected for that purpose under or near London Bridge, by order of the Magistrates of the City. To which, as soon as they were set up, some exception was taken and complaint made, as it seems, to the Court, as that they might prove injurious to the Bridge or to the River. But it was shewn that the Bridge could take no harm by these Works. And it was provided for by this Means, that the water had, or should have its full course through the Arches; and that that part of the Mill which should stand nearest unto the stone work of the Bridge should be twelve feet off from any part of the Bridge.



A view of Old London Bridge after the houses had been removed. Reduced from a print published in 1913 by the London Topographical Society and engraved by Emery Walker from a drawing made in 1810 by E. W. Cooke, R. A., and now in the possession of the Corporation of London.

The Profit of these Mills was, that whereas, in Time of Dearth, the common People could not have any corn ground under four, five or sixpence the Bushel, and many Times could not have it ground at all in a long space, by Means whereof, People were constrained to buy Meal in the Market at such Prices as the Seller himself would, this would be remedied by the use of these Mills. Also the Badgers, or Meal-Sellers, enhanced the Prices as they listed; which could not be remedied, but by good Provision of Corn made by the Citizens, and sold in the Market, as experience has shewed.

The two arches next London are now stopped up for the use of the Water-Mills, but without any Prejudice to the Current of the Thames. The third Arch, on Southwark Side, is seldom and very rarely passed through, because of a Rock grown there a little to the East, which is visible at low Water. This Rock hath been observed this many a year. Therefore this Arch is called The Rock Lock. Two of these Arches are much larger than the rest; viz, That over which is the drawbridge; and the other called The Simile Rock. These were for the Use of greater Vessels, that went through Bridge, westward. The Draw-Bridge formerly was, upon such occasions, taken up; but now-a-days never, but when it wants repairing. (Strype.)

In 1633 the houses on the west side were burnt and when they were rebuilt they were

Very beautiful and substantial; for the Houses were three Stories high, besides the Cellars, which were within and between the Piers. And over the Houses were stately Platforms, leaded, with Rails and Ballasters about them very commodious, and pleasant for Walking, and enjoying so fine a Prospect up and down the River; and some had pretty little Gardens with Arbours. This Half being thus finished, the other Half was intended to be rebuilt answerable to this, which would have been a great Glory to the Bridge and Honour to the City. (Strype.)

The houses were removed altogether in 1756-61 in response to the increasing demand of the Traffic.

Among the people who lived on London Bridge were Holbein and Hogarth. During the last two hundred years of their existence at least, the lower storeys of the houses were devoted to the uses of trade. Shops for the sale of all kinds of small wares lined the roadway from end to end. In particular the booksellers and printsellers of London Bridge were of great repute and made a good business.

Old London Bridge must have been very picturesque indeed. The drawings, of which there are many, made during the 16th century and later do it but scant justice.

The history of the bridge is crowded with incident. In 1212 it had a great fire among its houses, in which many people lost their lives. In the Wars of the Roses Falconbridge tried to capture the



A view of London Bridge made in 1832 just after its completion and during the demolition of Old London Bridge of which a single arch is shown at the right of the picture. From a drawing by E. W. Cooke, R. A., in the possession of the Corporation of London. Published in 1913 by the London Topographical Society and engraved by Emery Walker. This illustration is reduced from the Society's engraving.

City over the bridge and was defeated by the Londoners. Over its roadway came Wat Tyler's rabble in 1381. I am unable to learn whether on that occasion the Londoners did not think it worth while to close its gates against the peasants of Kent and Essex or whether the cumbrous drawbridge was out of repair and could not be raised.

For some reason the bridge was often chosen as the scene of single combats and many famous duels were fought upon it, to the great edification of the London crowd. Once a Scottish nobleman, the Earl of Crawford, rode to London under safe conduct of the English King to fight an English nobleman, Lord Wellis. On London Bridge, the place selected for the great fight, a dense crowd was gathered. A fine description of this duel is given by Hector Boece.* The opponents were in full armour and mounted on armoured steeds. At the first onset, Lord Wellis's spear caught his opponent square on the helmet, but the spear was broken and the Earl kept his seat. Then some of the excited crowd shouted that he was bound in his saddle, contrary to the rules of arms. Hearing this, the Scottish Earl dismounted and again remounted to show that they were mistaken. In the third encounter Lord Wellis was flung violently from his saddle. Earl David "dismounted haistilie fra his hors, and tenderlie embrasit him; that the pepill nicht understand he faucht with na hatrant, bot allanerlie for the glore of victorie. In signe of more humanite, he vesity him ilk day quhill he recoverit his heill."

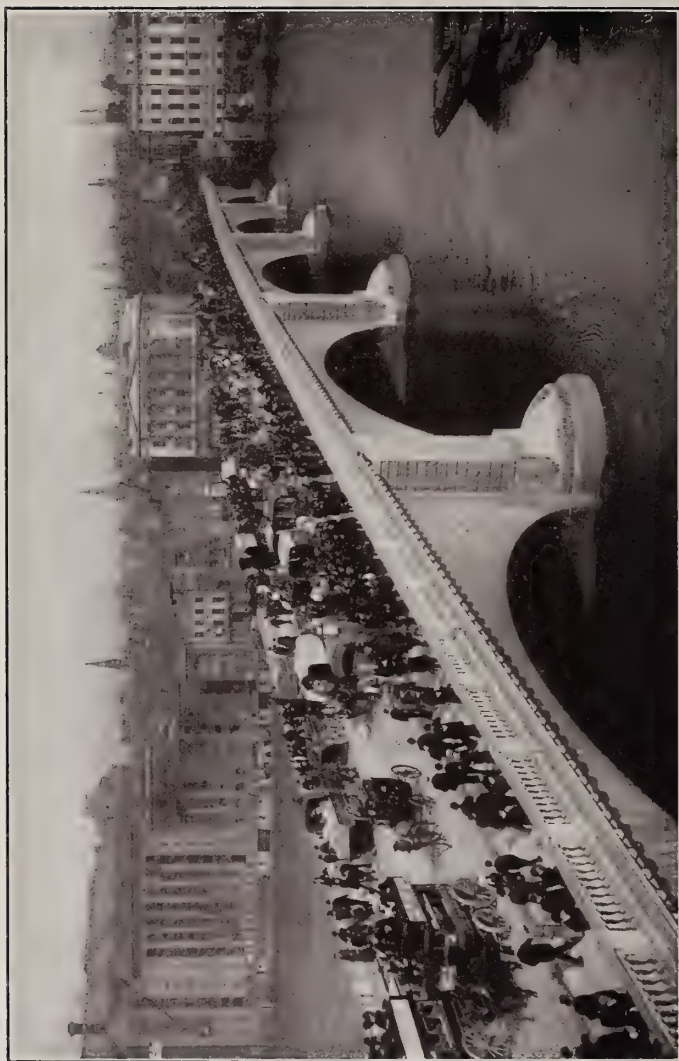
The greatest fight that ever took place on London Bridge was when the Londoners fought and defeated the army of Jack Cade. The rebel leader had captured Southwark, held the south end of the bridge and made his headquarters at the White Hart Inn. The machinery for raising the drawbridge being in the southern gate which was thus held, the Londoners were unable to raise the drawbridge for the defence of the City. Of course they could have destroyed the drawbridge. Why didn't they? From Southwark Jack Cade made a sudden dash across the Bridge.

Hath my sword therefore broke through London gates, that you should leave me at the White Hart in Southwark.

KING HENRY VI, Act IV, Sc. 8.

Having held parts of London for two days, the rebel army withdrew in good order to Southwark and prepared for the general assault

* A History of Scotland by Hector Boece (1465-1536), written in Latin and translated into English (Scots style) by John Bellenden.



London Bridge, looking from the Southwark side of the Thames. The building at the left of the farther end is Fishmongers Hall.

and capture of the City. The Londoners meantime assembled, arming themselves hastily, and found a leader. The fight on London Bridge deserves an epic. The two forces met in the middle, pressing forward from opposite ends with an urge so impetuous that at times they were deadlocked breast to breast. At times both sides relaxed a little from breathlessness and drew back a space for air. When this movement left their sword arms free the men in the front ranks fought hand to hand and the fighting became furious. The bridge ran with blood that dripped over the edges into the Thames where the breaks in the line of houses gave it a spillway. As the front of each column crumbled it was replaced from behind. Sometimes the action moved foot by foot towards the North and at times foot by foot towards the South. Piles of bodies marked the places where the fighting had been deadlocked. Night came on and found the heat of battle undiminished, swaying to and fro on the bridge. On the side of the Londoners leader after leader had gone down, but there was always a leader at their head. On the side of the rebels the losses were no less heavy and the fighting no less determined. Their leaders were experienced and their ranks were disciplined for it was no mere rabble that followed Jack Cade on that remarkable adventure, but a disciplined army in whose ranks were found men of consequence. All through the hours of the night the fight went on and when the dawn broke, the defenders had forged their way foot by foot toward Southwark. Foot by foot the besiegers were driven back, until losing their last foothold on the bridge, they were thrust backward into Surrey and scattered along its highways. Jack Cade himself was afterwards captured and his head placed on the Gate of London Bridge.

In 1825 the new bridge was begun, 60 yards to the west of the Old Bridge. It was finished in 1831 and in the following year the demolition of the Old Bridge was begun. In the Chapel Crypt of St. Thomas were found the bones of Peter of Colechurch, who, dying before his work was completed, was buried there. His bones, we are told, were thrown into a barge together with the débris from the Chapel.

London has now a striking opportunity to make amends by saving the surviving arch, so miraculously preserved, and dedicating it to the memory of the Old Bridge Builder and Old London Bridge but that is London's business alone. It has been reported that the preservation of the arch in place would cost 11,000 pounds,

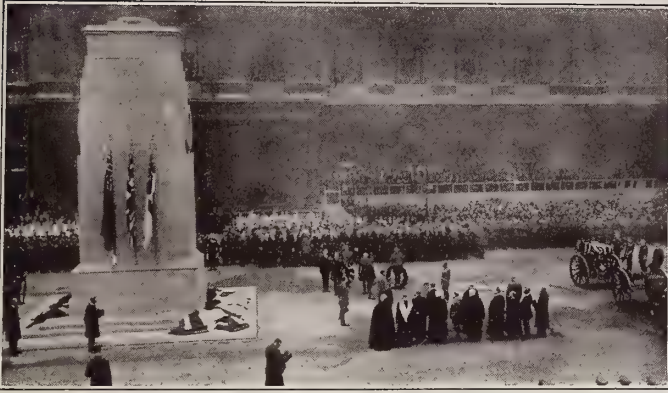
a serious matter, for London is just now paying for a great many things including other people's debts and delinquencies. Moreover, there is nothing harder to keep up than an interest in anything that has ceased to be of use, whether it is a man, a statesman or an arch of London Bridge. Still I cannot help thinking of the many people in all the world—people with that nursery rhyme running in their heads, who will be sorry to see the passing of that resurrected arch, and whose response to its appeal would be as spontaneous and universal as the iterated but inconclusive argument and suspended burden with which the race has chosen to celebrate its childhood's taste in rhyme.

London Bridge is falling down,
Falling down, falling down.

* * * * *

Events have focused attention sharply on London. For reasons that are written large in today's chronicles from the Baltic to the Yellow Sea, it is the centre of an interest more concentrated than ever before. From St. George's Channel you may travel west and westward still till you come again to London Dock and amid confusion growing ever more confused, you will see at every step what is left of civilization looking with mixed anxiety and hope towards that ancient policeman on the Thames, for the question at the heart of civilization today is "How does London stand?" I can only say that during a month of days and nights last summer I walked its streets, mingled with its crowds and talked to many people. I was looking for some change in London but there was none that I could name; its human tide that ebbs and flows was still the same; its pageantry like another phenomenon of Nature still flamed with scarlet and gold. Up along the Thames the nightingale was singing as sweetly and as bravely as before. I knew that there were hidden wounds unhealed. I knew how close and constant was the companionship of pain in that great City and how very near its heart, but I did not hear a single murmur of complaint and I did not see a single sign of bitterness or hate.

I have said that London is a silent City, but there are different kinds of silence. There is the piercing silence of the midnight stars, there is the savage silence of the desert, the brooding silence of the ocean in its calm, and the mouldering silence of the churchyard; but



The Measured Silence of a Beating Heart.

the silence of London is the measured silence of a beating heart, a beating heart.

I have taken it upon myself to speak of ancient London and I think it was very bold of me for I am aware that few are equal to the task and none is altogether worthy. I am happy if I have been able to strike a few feeble murmurs from that harp of many strings, and the note on which I want to end is the one on which I began—the changeless humanity of London, the retrospective calm that sits in judgment on its ceaseless onward surge. It is like a canvas by some old master of the Giant school, reflecting in its matchless mood the colours of old sunsets and remembered dawns, the lights and shadows of its matchless story. If I were of English descent as many of you are and as I am not, I could not recall its name without emotion, but all of us may claim a share in that inheritance—claim kindred there and have our claim allowed. It belongs to the Londoners, but its gates are open wide to all the world, and whoever enters there is free, for you may do anything in London—except break the law. England's Royal City, Stronghold in the Waters of devouring Time.

Walking on London Bridge one day it occurred to me that nothing could better illustrate the continuity that has impressed itself upon my mind than London Bridge. It seemed to span the centuries, one end hidden in primeval mists, the other shorelocked on the World's Metropolis. Below the arches a tide was running as it ran when they built a Temple to the God of Waters at the top of Ludgate Hill. Above the arches another stream was flowing as it has flowed without ceasing since the ancient Britons flung their first rude wooden bridge across that tide. I was standing on the very

spot where the much heralded traveller from New Zealand amid a vast solitude, will take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of Saint Paul's; and as I turned and looked upon that mighty Dome that watches over London where it hives below, the great bell tolled and it boomed above the City like the challenge of a sentinel, informing the attentive stars how London stands. I heard the loud vibrations die away to little whisperings like responses in the air—tiny elfin tongues that told the listening Thames some secret for the sea. And the thought that shaped itself within my mind was the thought that Macaulay's travelled visitant is not yet born. His antipodean birthday is not yet. And in the gathering dusk I had a vision of him as the last man born and the last surviving soul to greet the sunrise.

NOTES

TWO DRAWINGS OF OLD LONDON BRIDGE

Our appreciation of Old London Bridge is greatly helped and our interest sustained by the contemporary drawings and prints, especially by the two here reproduced. The first is after a drawing by John Norden, engraved in 1597, which shows the east side of the Bridge together with a stretch of the Thames in the foreground and a lot of boats, some of which have been shooting the Bridge in which act one has come to grief and, being upset, has thrown its passengers into the water. Below are inscriptions that we reproduce.

The other drawing was made about 1700 after the houses on the Bridge had been partly burned and rebuilt. It shows two views of the Bridge, from the East and from the West. Below is inscribed the author's version of its history together with a poem and a key to the several special features. These we print on separate pages. The key at the bottom of page 396 refers to marks that may be found on the print on page 394.

To the right honorable S^r Ric. Saltonstall
Lord Mayo^{er} of the Citti of london

Among manie famous monumentes w^tin this realm none
Deserueth more to be sett before the worlds uiew by demonstration
Then this london bridge. And yet it hath not found so much
Grace amonge the more sufficient artiste. And therefore I the menest
Being therunto moued Haue under yo^{er} garde aduentured to
Publish this rude Conterfeite thereof to the end that as by reporte
The fame of it is spread through manie nations. So by this picture
It may appeare to such as haue heard of it and not reallye
Beheld it to be noe lesse prays worthy the it hath bene sayd to bee
yo^{er} lordships.

John Norden

To the beholder

This bridge leadeth from london to Southworke

It was finished of stone by the Citizens in the time of k. John

It is in { Length nere—800—foote
Height—60—foote
Breadth—30—foote

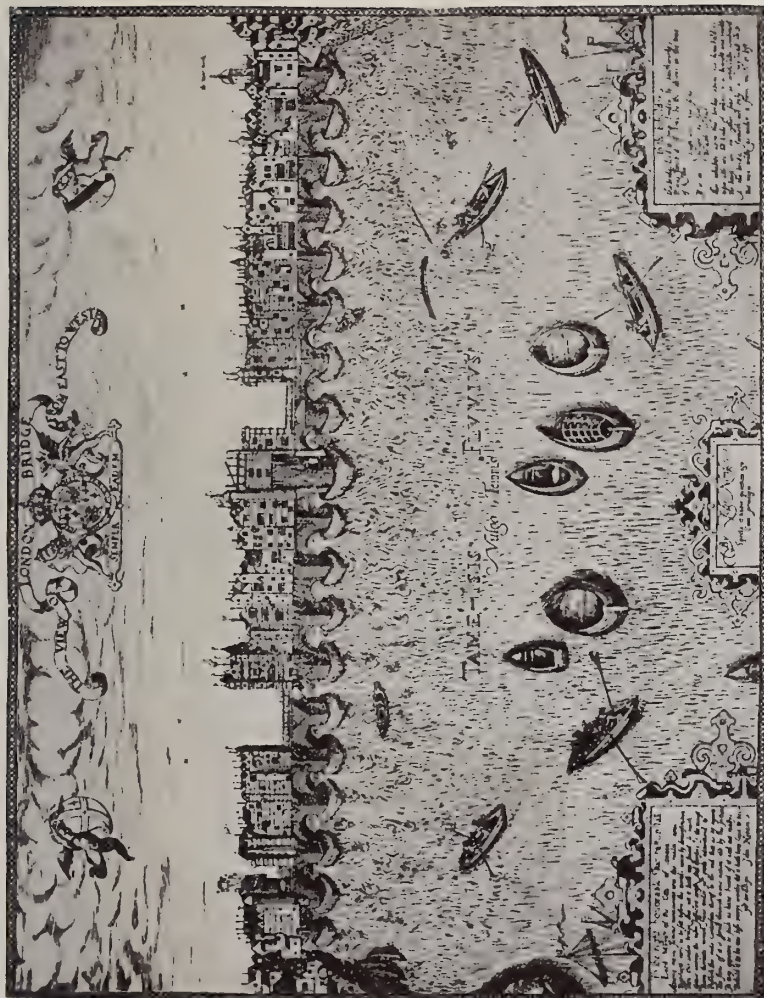
Ther inhabite upon this bridge aboue 100 howsholders

Wher also are all kinde of wares to be bought and sowlde

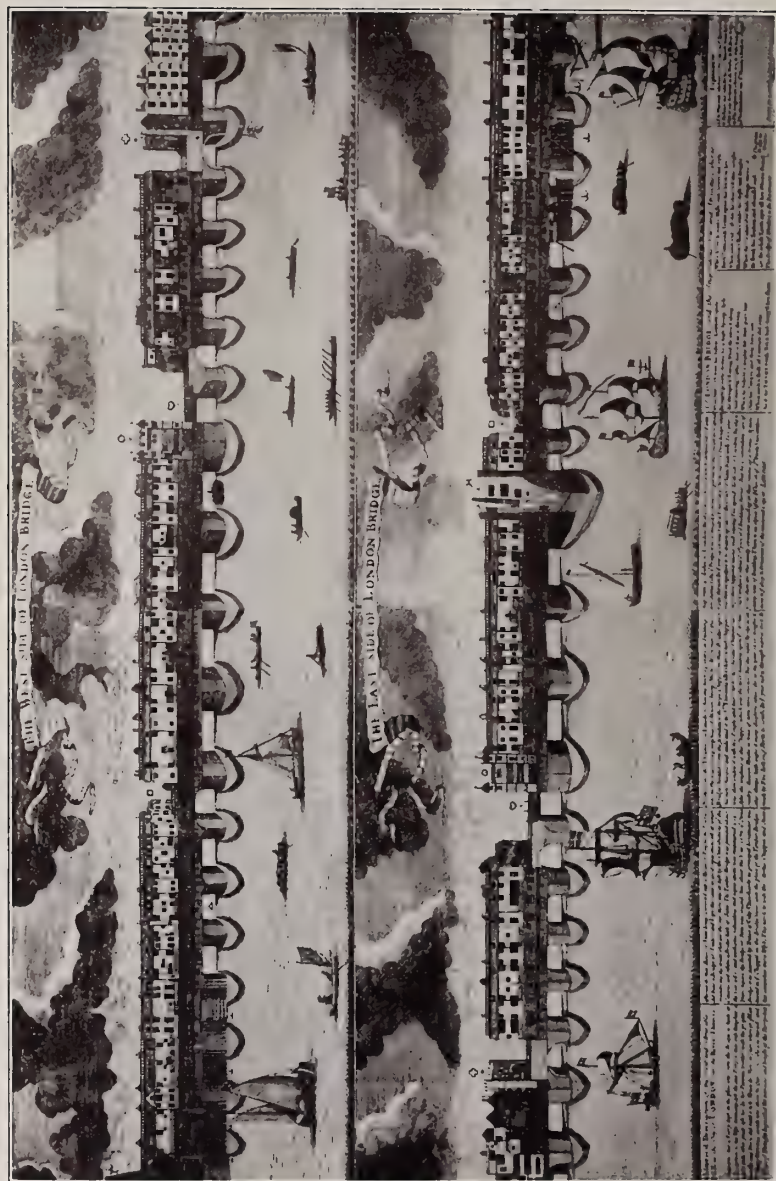
The howses are on eyther side so artificially combyned

As the bridge seemeth a contynuall strete

But men walke as under a ferme vaute or lofte



John Norden's View of London Bridge from East to West. This Illustration Showing Old London Bridge is Reduced from a Large Photoengraving published in 1919, by the London Topographical Society and Made by Emery Walker from an Impression Engraved in the Year 1597



Two Views of London Bridge About the Beginning of the 18th Century. This Illustration is Reduced from a Large Engraving Published in 1921 by the London Topographical Society and made by Emery Walker

AN HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE GREAT AND ADMIRABLE
BRIDGE IN THE CITY OF LONDON OVER THE RIVER
THAMES.

At first there was but a Ferry kept in the place wher now the Bridge is built, at length the Ferryman & his Wife deceasing, left the said Ferry to their only Daughter a Mayden, who with other goods, left her by her Parents, together with the profits arising from the said Ferry, did build a holy House for Nuns, in place whereof ye East part of St. MARY OVERIES stands now above the Quire, where she was buried: and unto that House of Nuns, she bequeathed the oversight and benefit of the Ferry; but afterwards, that House of Nuns being converted into a House of Priests, the Priests did build a Bridge of Timber, and kept the same in good reparation, till at length, considering the great charges thereof, there was at last, by the contributions of the citizens, and others, a Bridge built of Stone. The Timber Bridge was founded about the Year 961, and with once rebuilding and reparations was maintained 215 Years before the Bridge of Stone was erected. Now about the Year 1176, ye Stone Bridge was founded by PETER of COLE-CHURCH (who as principal benefactor was buried in ye Chappel on the Bridge) near unto the place of the Timber Bridge, but somewhat more West. This work, to wit, the Arches, Chappel, and Stone-Bridge over the THAMES at London, having been 33 Years in building, was in the Year 1209 finished. A Mason being Master Workman of the Bridge, builded from the foundation the large Chappel on that Bridge upon his own charges, and dedicated it to St. THOMAS A BECKET, which Chappel was then endow'd with two Priests and four Clerks, etc. besides Chanteries: After the finishing of this Chapel, which was the first building upon ye Arches, sundry Mansion Houses in tract of time were erected. But this noble Bridge as all other things, hath suffer'd many disasters since for in the Year 1212 it suffer'd much by Fire both on ye North & South. In ye year 1282, through a great frost & deep snow, 5 Arches of London Bridge were born down & destroyed. A little after Anno 1289, ye Bridge was so decay'd for want of reparations, the people were afraid to pass thereon. In ye Year 1426 was built a Tower at ye North end of ye Drawbridge (which was then in a posture to be drawn up) in ye Majoralty of John Ramwell. In ye

Year 1633, there happen'd another most raging Fire upon ye North side of London-Bridge, which consum'd above ye 3d part of ye buildings thereof: But by ye comendable care of ye City, there are other goodly structures rais'd up in their rooms of a stronger & more stately way of Building. There is no object (after ye Church of St. Pauls) can conduce more to ye glory & Ornament of the renowned City of LONDON.

OF LONDON BRIDGE, AND THE STUPENDOUS SITE, AND STRUCTURE THEREOF.

When NEPTUNE from his billows LONDON spyde,
Brought proudly thither by a high Spring-tyde;
As through a floating Wood He steer'd along,
And dancing Castles cluster'd in a throng;
When he beheld a mighty BRIDGE give law
Unto his surges, and their fury awe,
When such a shelf of Cataracts did roar,
As if the THAMES with NILE had chang'd her shoar
When he such massy Walls, such Towrs did eye
Such Posts, such Irons upon his back to lye,
When such vast Arches he observed, that might
Nineteen *Rialto's make for depth and height,
When the Cerulean God these things survey'd,
He shook his Trident, and astonish'd said,
Let the whole Earth now all her Wonders Count
This Bridge of Wonders is the Paramount.

- ⌋ The Water mills which serve the City.
- △ Ye Queens Arch.
- the Square on London Bridge.
- ⊙ Nonsuch-house built without Nails or any Ironwork in the Timber.
- ♡ The Draw-bridge.
- ⊕ The bridge-Gate, whereon are fix'd the heads of Traitors.
- ✕ The House which was St. Thomas a Becket's Chappel.

* The prime Bridge of Venice.

THE SINGLE COMBAT OF LORD WELLIS AND EARL DAVID CRAWFURD

This event took place towards the end of the 14th Century during a brief truce between England and Scotland when Richard II was King of England and Robert III was King of Scotland. Briefly and in modern English the narrative of Hector Boece is as follows.

During the peace, many companies of knights from either country were in the other to do battle for the defence of their honour and for the glory of their arms. Lord Wellis was sent to Scotland as Ambassador and at a banquet there, while the English and the Scots were discussing chivalry, Lord Wellis said: "If you really want to know what English chivalry and valour are like, name the place and the day and I will be glad to show you."

Then said Earl David: "I accept your challenge." It was there-upon agreed that Lord Wellis should choose the place and that Earl David should choose the day. The former chose London Bridge and the latter St. George's Day. Before the day came round the Earl arrived in London with 30 retainers. On St. George's Day both champions were escorted to London Bridge where the great battle was fought and in the third round Earl David threw his opponent from his horse and then dismounting, embraced him. He afterwards visited him till he had recovered from his injuries. There were many other similar incidents at that time; each man trying to show that his own nation was the more loving.

Not long after, Earl David gave a banquet at which were present many English nobles who did not cease to praise themselves most according to their custom. At last when the English Herald had blazoned the Earl David for a valiant and noble knight, an Englishman said: "No wonder the Scots should be noble and valiant seeing that they were begotten by our nobility when their own men were banished and their country almost conquered." Then answered Earl David: "No wonder that the English should be weak and degenerate, for they were begotten by cooks and friars of England when the great nobles thereof were begetting us in Scotland."

Such humanities and kindnesses (concludes the narrative) continuing between the English and Scots, Earl David returned to

Scotland with many nobles of England and, because he vanquished Lord Wellis on St. George's Day, he employed seven priests to sing for him in Our Lady Church at Dundee in honour of St. George.

The original passage reads as follows.

During the peace betwix Inglismen and Scottis, frequent cumpanyis wer of Inglismen in Scotland; and siclik of Scottis in England: throw quhilk, oftymes mony honorabil tornamentis wer betwix Scottis and Inglis, for defence of thair honouris, and glore in armes. Among quhom, wes not litil apprisit, the honorabill victorie gottin be David, Erle of Crawford, on the brig of Londoun, aganis Lord Wellis, in this maner: Lord Wellis was send ambassatour in Scotland, concerning certane hie materis betwix the two Kingis of Inglis and Scottis. And quhen he wes at ane solempne banket, quhare Scottismen and Inglis wer commoning on dedis of armes, this Lord Wellis said: "Lat wourdis have na place. Gif ye know nocht the chevelry and vailyeant dedis of Inglisemen, assailye me, day and place quhen ye list, and ye sall sone have experience." Than said David, Erle of Crawford, "I will assailye." Incontinent, be consent of athir parteis, day and place wes assignit: Lord Wellis chesit the brig of Londoun for the place, and Erle David chesit Sanct Georgis Day, be reason that he wes sum time ane vailyeant knicht. Thus departit Lord Wellis towart London. Afore the day, Erle David come with xxx personis, weil acoutterit, to London.

Als sone as the day of battall wes cumin, baith the partyis wer convoyit to the brig. Sone eftir, be sound of trumpat, the two partyis ran haistelie togidder, on thair bardit cursouris, with square and groundin speris, to the deith. Erle David, nochtwithstanding the violent dint of speris brokin in his hewmont and visage, sat so stranglie, that the pepill, movit of vane suspitioun, cryit, Erle David, contrar the lawis of armis, wes bound in the sadil. Erle David, herand this murmur, demontit of his hors; and, but ony support, ascendit agane in the sadill. Incontinent, thay ruschit togidder, with new speris, the secound time, with birnand ire to conques honoure. Bot in the third rink, Lord Wellis wes dounge out of the sadill, with sic violence, that he fell to the ground, with gret displeisur of Inglismen. Erle David, seing him fall, demontit haistelie fra his hors, and tenderly embrasit him; that the pepill nicht understand he faucht with na hatrant, bot allanerlie for the glore of victorie. In signe of more humanite, he vesity him ilk day, quhill he recoverit his heill. Mony othir contentionis wes at this time, betwix Inglis-

men and Scottis; ilk man contending to decore his awin nation with maist loving.

Not lang eftir, Erle David maid ane solempne banket, quhair mony noblis of Ingland wer present for the time; nocht ceissing, as thair custome is, to loif maist thameself. At last, quhen the herald of Ingland had blasonit this Erle David, for ane vailyeant and nobil knicht, ane Inglisman, movit of invy, said. "It is not mervel thocht Scottis be nobill and vailyeant; for thay wer gottin be our nobil eldaris, quhen thair faderis wer banist, and thair realme neir conquest. Than said Erle David, "It is no mervell thocht Inglisemen be febill and degenerat; for thay wer gottin be cukis and freiris of Ingland, quhen the gret nobillis thairof gat us in Scotland." Sic humaniteis and kindnes continewing betwix Inglis and Scottis, Erle David returnit in Scotland, with mony nobillis of Ingland. And becaus he vincust Lord Wellis apon Sanct Georgis Day, he foundit VII preistis to sing for him, in our Lady Kirk of Dundee, in the honour of Sanct George.

From the History and Chronicles of Scotland Written in Latin By Hector Boece, Canon of Aberdeen; and Translated By John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray, and Canon of Ross. The Sixteenth Book, Chapter Ten.

OUR EXPEDITIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The members of expeditions that are at work in Palestine and Mesopotamia have experiences that sound strange to readers of the Bible and the history of these ancient lands. A letter has just been received from Mr. C. Leonard Woolley, in charge of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the University Museum in Mesopotamia. It was announced in the last issue that the Expedition was starting excavations at Ur of the Chaldees. Mr. Woolley's first letter from the field was dated at Ur Junction, November 2. This is a station on the Bagdad Railroad between Basra and Bagdad. The letter reads in part as follows:

On October 23rd we landed at Basra. . . . We were met on landing by reports that the disturbed conditions near Ur would make our going there impossible, but the situation cleared up during our stay in Basra. . . . Thanks to the kindness which was uniformly shewn, it proved possible to leave for Ur on October 26th. . . . During our stay at Basra we lodged with the Civil Chaplain, Rev. C. W. Carter; Sir A. T. Wilson arranged that the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. should act as honorary agents for the Expedition; I met Lt. Col. Tainsh, Director of Railways, who gave all facilities and allowed me to purchase much of the necessary equipment from the railway stores at reduced rates and will supply Decauville material; while both the Ordnance and the R. R. Stores also furnished stuff.

Reaching Ur on October 27th, we were accommodated temporarily in the Railway Institute, comfortable quarters but too far from the site to be of permanent use. We visited the mound and selected alternative sites for the Expedition house and arranged methods for getting regular food supplies. On the following day I left for Bagdad, Messrs. Newton and Smith remaining behind at Ur to carry out the preliminaries to excavation.

I arrived at Bagdad on Sunday, October 29th, and was invited to stay with Col. Tainsh, Sir Percy Cox being away and having smallpox at his house. I saw Miss Bell, the Hon. Director of Archæology, who informed me that the Antiquities Law was coming before the Cabinet on the morrow and would probably be passed. On Monday I had interviews with H. M. King Faisal, H. E. the High Commissioner, H. E. Sabih bey, Minister of Works, within whose province comes the Directorate of Archæology, H. E. the Minister for the Interior, and other local authorities, English and Arab. As the law failed to be passed that afternoon, the Minister gave me a provisional permit to dig, which will be replaced by a regular Irade as soon as the details of the new law have been fixed. I should like to remark specially on the interest shewn by everyone in the work to be carried out by your Expedition and on the practical manner in which this interest was manifested by

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the willingness of all to give every kind of assistance. The King was very affable and keen on the work, and in Miss Bell we shall of course have a most sympathetic Director; the R. A. F. have agreed to make a special series of air photos of the site. Maj. J. M. Wilson, of the Department of Public Works, has volunteered to make photos and where possible measured drawings of antiquities encountered by the Survey parties. Altogether my visit to Bagdad, which was of course necessary in any case, turned out as useful as it was made pleasant by the kindness of the people whom I met.

Mr. Clarence S. Fisher, in charge of our excavations at Beisan, is accustomed to send to the Museum month by month a copy of the Diary in which he enters day by day various events at the diggings both in Egypt and in Palestine.

The following quotations are abstracted from the Diary recently received at the Museum and written at Beisan during the month of August.

August 1. Tuesday

Last day of work as the great Moslem festival begins tomorrow and the locals want the full three days. We resume on Saturday.

.

The men are now working up the north slope between the lower terrace and the summit. . . .

I had heard that there is a quantity of light Decauville railway, 60 cm. gauge belonging to the Government about two miles from here. It is for sale. Labib, whom I sent to look at it, reports that there are 9 wagons and over 200 metres of rails. This would enable us to handle the debris on the hill, collecting it from the whole summit and throw it over the eastern edge. We have only the 80 metres loaned to us by the Government. I am making an offer for the whole lot but it may not be accepted.

August 2. Wednesday

First day of the greater Bairam festival.

.

August 3. Thursday

The workmen came with their new holiday clothes and gave us the greetings of the season.

.

August 6. Sunday.

After lunch Major FitzGerald of the Gendarmerie brought down some officers of the Air Force. They expect to fly over tomorrow to pick up a message from the camp above us.

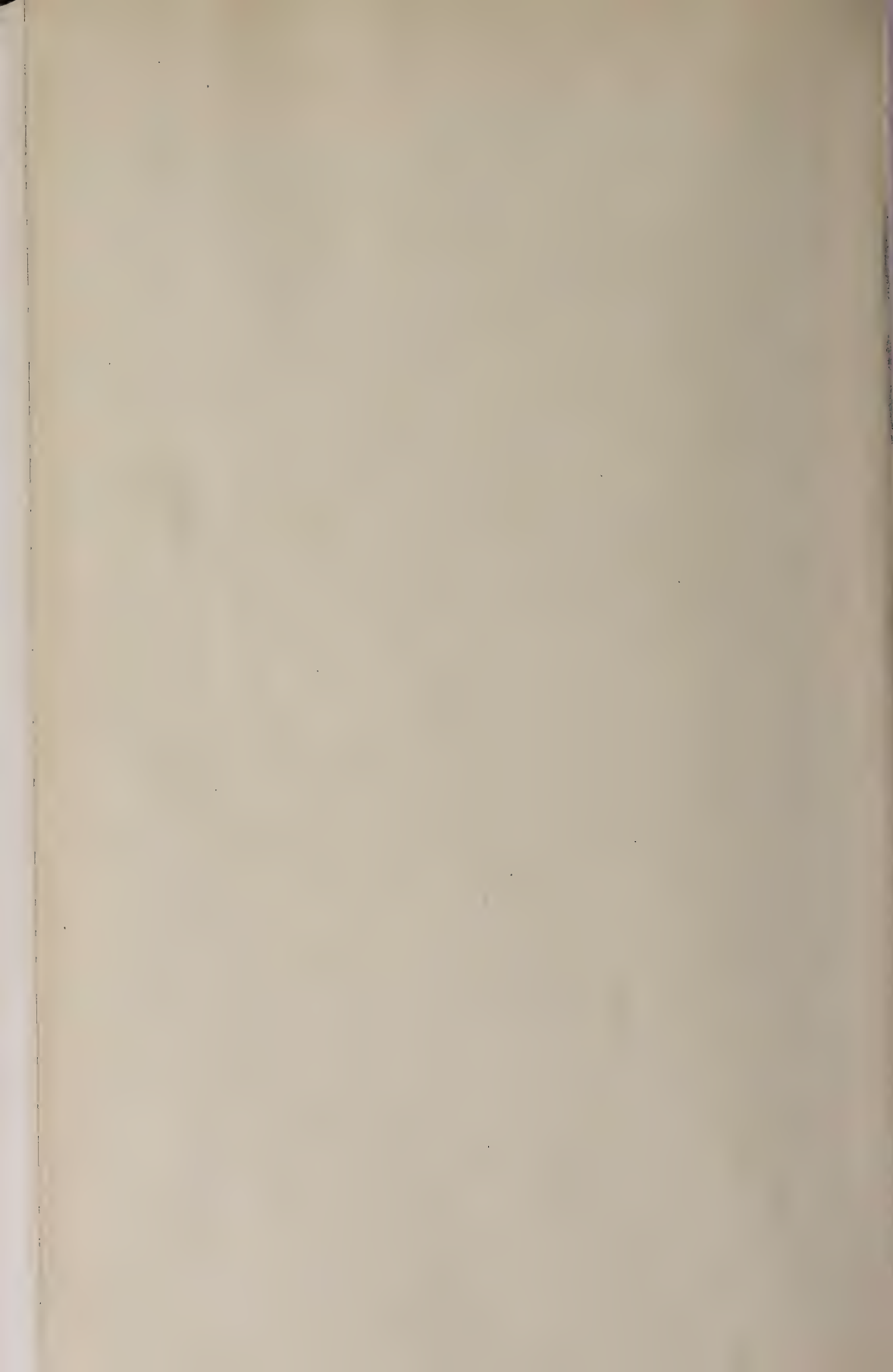
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August 7. Monday.

Early this morning our visitors of yesterday flew over the camp in a Bristol Fighter No. H 1677 and dropped a pennant with their cards attached.

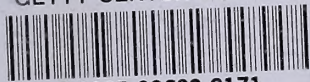
Here are two chronicles of contemporary events in close contact with antiquity. One speaks of photographing from the air the city of Abraham's birth; the other speaks of passing travellers that drop their visiting cards from the clouds upon the spot where the severed heads of Saul and his sons were fastened to the walls of Bethshan, the modern Beisan. This contact of the present and the past is extremely picturesque and romance is not lacking in circumstances that bring the airplane into relation with the attempts of archæologists to make contact with the historical level of four thousand years ago within these Bible lands. To experience at once the physical and intellectual horizon of Abraham's ancestor and the horizon envisaged by the airman has been reserved for the archæologists of today.







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